

More police with increased powers won't stop blood being spilt on the streets >>Pages 10&11

**What's REALLY behind gun and knife crime?**

ONE STABBING  
IS ONE  
TOO MANY

**Israel threatens more death in Gaza >>Pages 4&5**

# Socialist Worker

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## NEW THREAT TO REFUGEES

# SHUT OUT OF SCHOOL BY RACIST TORY LAW

**TELL AMBER RUDD, LET THEM IN**

### Denied education after fleeing war and poverty

**REFUGEE CHILDREN** and young people are being shut out from schools and colleges because of the Tories' immigration laws.

Changes implemented in January under home secretary Amber Rudd mean that they can be denied the right to study if they don't have leave to remain.

The Home Office says it's not a blanket ban, but it's already having a big impact.

Karim arrived in Britain as an unaccompanied asylum-seeking child two years ago aged 17. He has now been sent an immigration bail letter stating he does not have permission to work or study.

Kamena Dorling, head of policy at the Coram Children's Legal Centre, said the charity is "already seeing a significant number of young refugees and migrants being granted immigration bail with 'no study' conditions".

### Hostile

This is part of the Tories' drive to create a "hostile environment" for migrants. Government reports sneaked out last month showed how hard it is for refugee children to claim asylum in Britain.

The West bombs their countries, shuts them out with its border fences—then denies them an education if they make it across.

Anti-racists need to fight for their right to come—and stay with full rights.

**>>Page 5**





## THE THINGS THEY SAY

### 'Foolish prank'

Tory MP Kemi Badenoch on hacking a Labour member's website some years ago

### 'Say nice things about Tories'

The aim of Badenoch's hack

### 'Relieved that no member of the public has been harmed'

Tory MP Andrew Rosindell after cops shot a man dead in his constituency on Monday

### 'Well built building'

US president Donald Trump on Trump Tower—after a fire killed a resident there

### 'It doesn't address the buildings that need sprinklers the most'

Trump previously arguing against a bill to fit sprinklers in all New York buildings, including high rises

### 'He is the Kremlin's useful idiot'

Foreign secretary Boris Johnson attacks Jeremy Corbyn

### 'Not helpful at all'

Mark Field, Foreign Office minister, on Johnson's attacks

### 'We all know Boris has a style'

But then again maybe it's not so bad after all, says Field



MAY RECEIVES BOOST FROM RUSSIA

# Cops 'trying to hide as much as possible' in spying inquiry

THE INQUIRY into spy cops has finally confirmed that a joiner many campaigners knew as Mark Cassidy was undercover cop HN15, called Mark Jenner.

Activists have known this for years after Jenner was publicly named by a journalist, and in the book Blacklisted by Phil Chamberlain and Dave Smith.

Between 1995 and 2000 Jenner infiltrated the construction union Ucat. A Special Branch bank account paid his union subs.

Jenner also infiltrated rank and file groups including the Building Worker Safety Campaign. He lived with an activist known as Alison for the five years.

The confirmation of his name came a week after the Metropolitan Police confirmed that cops gave information to the building industry blacklist.

The Blacklist Support Group said it was "shameful" that it took so long to name Jenner.

Alison made a statement welcoming the confirmation but said it was "deeply disappointing" that it had taken so long.

## FIVE FACTS

The inquiry into undercover policing is led by Sir John Mitting

- 1 Campaigners stormed out of the inquiry last month demanding that Mitting stand down.
- 2 Mitting has repeatedly argued for concealing the names of spy cops to protect them.
- 3 Cops were part of a covert unit known as the Special Demonstration Squad.
- 4 Cops spied on activists and formed relationships with some. Go to bit.ly/copspies for more details.
- 5



SIR JOHN Mitting

"It feels as if they're always trying to keep as much hidden as possible," she said. "His employer, the Metropolitan Police, has still not confirmed his identity or given me any information as to why I was spied on."

"I and other women similarly deceived have received no disclosure about how these abusive relationships were allowed to happen. None of those responsible has been held to account."

Women who suffered relationships with undercover cops have written to the Home Secretary calling for a meeting to discuss their concerns about the inquiry.

Alison said, "Our experience is the result of institutional sexism within the police and recent comments by the presiding judge appear to lack any understanding as to what this means."

She called on those who have abused their power to be held to account and the "scale of political spying" to be exposed.

NICHOLAS Johnston, multimillionaire pal of David Cameron, says restoring his Grade II listed manor house Great Tew will benefit the public.

Johnston plans to use profits from building luxury homes for the restoration.

He said the cost would fall "back on the public purse" otherwise, as Oxfordshire council has a responsibility to protect listed structures.



A cash-strapped multimillionaire

THE SAME Johnston (see left) recently lost a court battle to keep using a private road to access the Great Tew estate.

Judge Matthews said Johnston "said whatever he thought was most likely to advance his cause, without regard to the truth".

"He was making it up as he went along," the judge added.

## One is quite amused at Charles's injuries

IT WAS a particularly slow news week for the Daily Mail this week. The right wing rag devoted two pages to the historic ailments of prince Charles on Monday.

These included admittedly amusing images of the royal scrounger in various states of injury.

Apparently Charles has broken both his right and left arms, and has suffered multiple back injuries after being flung from various horses.

"In 1981 a stray polo ball flew directly into Charles's throat during

a match," reported the Mail. "The Prince lost his voice for ten days."

The Mail chose this week to provide all of this critical information because the prince is approaching "his 70th birthday".

On 14 November.

PARKING HAS been suspended outside the private St Mary's Hospital in London as Kate Middleton prepares to give birth to another royal scrounger.

Excitingly, it isn't known if the new parasite will be male or female.



## Some might say Phillips is a racist

FORMER Equality and Human Rights Commission head Trevor Phillips has called on cops to target black people.

Phillips seized on recent stabbings in London to call for a clampdown.

He said stop and search should be used in a "more concentrated and intelligent way".

And he said that police officers should be able to use different policing methods "in areas

like Tottenham".

"We have to be honest and say the central issue is not white boys in Surrey being stabbed or stabbing other people," he said. "The victims and perpetrators are usually from black, Afro-Caribbean backgrounds."

Phillips claimed that "ethnic minorities are usually the ones most in favour of such action".

"Some might say it is racist to use different methods of policing for areas based on their ethnicity," he added. Quite.



Trevor Phillips backs up the cops



## KNOW YOUR ENEMY

No. 753

John Fallon Pearson boss

Fallon has seen his annual bonus nearly double to £624,000

He grabbed a total of £1.7 million, compared to £1.5 million in 2016

Pearson is the biggest private education firm

It made pre-tax profits of £421 million last year



Council fat cats At least 500 council bosses earn more than Theresa May's £150,000 pay package

NHS staff Three in ten hospitals charge workers for parking. Workers at some pay £2 an hour

## GOING DOWN



## More Tory lies over housing

TORY HOUSING minister Dominic Raab last week blamed migrants for the housing crisis.

"In the last 25 years we have seen immigration put house prices up by something like 20 percent," he claimed.

He said cutting immigration would mean fewer homes need to be built.

The Tories have created the housing crisis with disastrous policies such as Right to Buy. We shouldn't let the Tories use racism to divert anger away from themselves.

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# Tories steal benefits from poorest to pay off debts

by SADIE ROBINSON

**THOUSANDS OF Universal Credit (UC) benefit claimants are having 40 percent of their income snatched away to repay debts.**

The deductions leave poor people worse off—and more vulnerable to getting further into debt.

And the Department for Work and Pensions (DWP) is allowed to take more money from UC to repay claimants' debts than from other benefits.

It's yet another confirmation that UC is a mechanism for the Tories to take more money from the poorest.

Figures following a parliamentary question showed that 6 percent of all UC full service claims had 40 percent deducted from their standard allowance to pay debt.

And some claimants have had more than 40 percent of their money deducted.

Some of this goes to repay rent or council tax arrears. But a third of UC deductions go to repay overpayments.

Poor people are being saddled with months of repayments because of officials' mistakes.

Universal Credit Survival is a Facebook group for claimants. They describe contacting the HMRC tax agency to inform it they shouldn't receive tax credits any longer—only for the payments to continue.

## Credits

One woman said she continued to receive tax credits for six weeks after doing so. "I'm still paying this back 18 months later," she said.

A Freedom of Information request showed that some 95,620 UC claimants had deductions made due to tax credit debt between April 2016 and October 2017.

The Tory claim that UC is about helping poorer people is an insulting lie. Even their most senior welfare adviser, Paul Gray, admits it will



A PROTEST against benefit sanctions

PICTURE: GUY SMALLMAN

## BACK STORY

**Universal Credit replaces six other benefits and will leave many people poorer**

- The DWP can deduct money to repay debts—and can instruct bosses to deduct money from wages too
- The maximum deduction allowed is 25 percent
- Some 20 percent of UC payments have deductions for rent arrears—compared to a standard rate of 5 percent on the older benefit system

create "substantially more losers than gainers".

And report after report explains the different ways that UC will make claimants' lives harder.

The Resolution Foundation think-tank said the switch to UC will leave 3.2 million "working families" on average £48 a week worse off.

## Meals

And around 600,000 of them, mainly couples with children, will no longer be entitled to any benefits at all.

The Institute for Fiscal Studies think tank said 100,000 children will miss out on free school meals when UC is fully rolled out. And charity

Citizens Advice found that higher deductions were pushing more claimants to use foodbanks to survive.

Gray warned this week that there will be a backlash against UC once people realise how much they will lose.

It should be a big challenge for the Tories. They are on the attack but they also fear widescale resistance.

Activists should take advantage of their weakness and organise to scrap their attacks on claimants.

## What's your story?

Email with your ideas  
reports@socialistworker.co.uk

## Cladding firm's contempt

A FIRM linked to the flammable cladding used on Grenfell Tower told its clients in 2015 that its Reynobond PE product achieved only a Euroclass E fire safety rating.

The company Arconic produced elements of the cladding used on the west London tower bloc before the blaze last June.

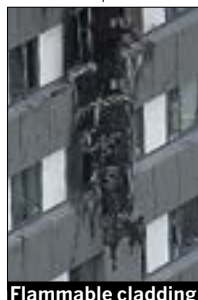
The BBC quoted a source who worked on cladding schemes. He said, "To be blunt, you wouldn't put 'E' on a dog kennel". The appropriate response, according to the source, would have been to issue a

product recall. The government requirement for buildings over 18 metres is class A.

In 2008 Reynobond PE was issued with a Class B rating in Britain. But Arconic did not supply the BBA board, which issues British fire safety ratings, with the results of subsequent European tests that gave it a Class E rating.

It's yet another example of how deregulation led to people dying in the Grenfell Tower fire.

Go to Facebook event  
Grenfell Silent Walk - 14th April 2018



Flammable cladding

## UNIONS

# Benefits workers threaten walk outs

A THREAT of strikes has forced Department of Work and Pensions (DWP) bosses to promise improvements to the service provided to Universal Credit benefit claimants.

They have also promised improvements to workers' conditions.

PCS union members showed they were prepared to strike over conditions at a mass car park meeting last week.

These workers felt high levels of stress and unable to provide a reasonable level of service to benefit claimants.

Important case management work was being neglected as the staff were being made to spend excessive amounts of time dealing with telephone calls.

Not dealing with this work led to even more phone calls.

At the car park meeting at Walsall Service Centre, 86 out of 88 union members present indicated they were prepared to strike.

Workers' determination forced management to announce major concessions.

Telephone work is to be organised in much shorter slots and 130 staff ring-fenced for telephoning are to be reallocated to case manager work.

Staffing shortages remain an issue.

The union is calling for the remaining 20 fixed term appointment (FTA) staff at the site to be made permanent.

It also wants the same for all other FTAs in the Department for Work and Pensions.

**Steve West, PCS DWP group executive committee (personal capacity)**

## IN THIS WEEK

# 1868

## British massacre at battle of Arogee

BRITISH IMPERIAL forces slaughtered 700 Ethiopian troops at the Battle of Arogee as part of their conquest of the country.

## Breakfast in



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For updates and analysis on the stories that matter go to [socialistworker.co.uk/breakfastinred](http://socialistworker.co.uk/breakfastinred)





# Israeli state threatens more death in Gaza

Apartheid state justifies its violence after killing at least 29 Palestinians and injuring over a thousand

**SENIOR ISRAELI officials have defended the killing of Palestinians in recent weeks—and have threatened even more violence.**

Israeli defence minister Avigdor Lieberman dismissed the outcry at the killing of seven more people last Friday after tens of thousands joined a second mass protest.

Soldiers once again shot at protesters with live ammunition and rubber coated steel bullets despite worldwide uproar at their killing of protesters the previous week.

At least 29 Palestinians have been killed by Israel since protests in the Gaza Strip began at the end of last month.

Well over 1,000 more have been injured—many of them shot in the legs—leaving Gaza's hospitals struggling to cope.

Tens of thousands of Palestinians in Gaza have joined the mass demonstrations.

They are demanding an end to Israel's siege of the Gaza Strip and the right to return to the land Palestinians were expelled from in 1948.

Their heroic resistance is part of six weeks of planned protests leading up to the 70th anniversary of the Nakba, or Catastrophe, on 15 May. It marks the anniversary of the

## BACK STORY

**The latest demonstrations are part of the Great March of Return violence.**

●The protests are timed to mark the 70th anniversary of the Nakba

●This is when Palestinians were driven off their land and hundreds of thousands of people became dispossessed

●Palestinians have been marching on the border between the Gaza Strip and Israel

●They have suffered brutal violence from the Israeli military during the demonstrations

foundation of Israel by the theft of Palestinian land and dispossession of hundreds of thousands of people.

Two teenagers and one journalist were among those killed on Friday.

No Israelis have been killed or injured, despite media reports describing the protests as “clashes”.

Lieberman justified the attacks on protesters after United Nations human rights high commissioner Liz Throssell condemned the “deplorable killings”.

Lieberman said Israeli soldiers “did what had to be done” and



SHOWING SOLIDARITY with Palestine in London last Saturday

PICTURE: GUY SMALLMAN

added, “All our troops deserve a commendation.”

He also dismissed the killing of the photographer Yasser Murtaja, who was shot in the stomach while wearing a blue vest clearly labelled “Press”.

“I don't know who he is, a photographer, not a photographer—whoever operates drones above IDF soldiers needs to understand that he is endangering himself,” said Lieberman.

The Israeli military later confirmed that Yasser had not been flying a drone when he was killed.

Israeli planes also bombed the

Gaza Strip on Monday, striking what it said was a military base owned by resistance group Hamas.

It claims this was in response to attempts by three people to plant crude makeshift bombs along the border fence that keeps Palestinians trapped inside Gaza.

Israeli officials have recently talked up the possibility of a new war on Gaza—and of stepping up its attacks on Palestinian protesters.

**On other pages...**  
France's racist republic  
>>Pages 14&15



Warmonger—Avigdor Lieberman

## Figure it out

**51** million pounds pledged by the Israeli government to combat the “existential threat” of the Boycott, Divestment and Sanctions campaign

**1.5** million people are trapped in Gaza, unable to leave or get vital supplies through Israeli border control

**2** billion dollars is given to Israel in aid by the US every year

AN ISRAELI soldier sexually harassed jailed Palestinian teenager Ahed Tamimi and threatened her family during her interrogation, a lawyer has claimed.

Video of an interrogation seen by Ahed's lawyer and US news website the Daily Beast shows a male interrogator “flirting in an overbearing and intimidating manner”



Ahed Tamimi with her. During Ahed's two-hour interrogation the man,

wearing a gun, tells her “You have eyes like an angel” and compares her to his sister.

As Ahed remains silent the man threatens to arrest her friends and siblings. “I don't want to bring those children here,” he tells her. “I pray that you take the easy way. You don't want me to speak with those children, right?”

## Thousands protest for a free Palestine

CRIES OF, “Free, free Palestine” rang out in front of Downing Street in London last Saturday as 2,000 people protested against Israel's latest massacre of Palestinians.

Naeem joined the protest as part of a delegation from the West Midlands Palestinian Solidarity Campaign. “The majority of people living in Gaza are refugees,” he told Socialist Worker. “It's the most densely populated prison in the world.

“The ethnic cleansing must come to an end and Palestinians must have their right to return recognised.”

Hundreds also joined protests in Manchester, Sheffield and Bristol, and there were smaller actions in towns such as Leeds and Nottingham

A statement was read out from Labour leader Jeremy Corbyn at the protest in London.

He said that Palestinians “have a right to protest against their appalling conditions, the blockade, the continued occupation on Palestinian land, their right to return to their homes and their right to self determination”.

This was stronger than his statement after the killings last week.

Corbyn has been under pressure to retreat from his opposition to imperialism since becoming Labour leader and has made some concessions.

Longer online at [bit.ly/Gaza7April2018](http://bit.ly/Gaza7April2018)

## Right wing say Corbyn is like the rise of Hitler

A PROTEST outside Labour Party headquarters in central London on Sunday saw speakers label leader Jeremy Corbyn as antisemitic and compare him to Hitler.

The protest explicitly linked antisemitism to support for Palestine. One speaker, actor Maureen Lipman, got big cheers when she told the crowd, “We have an antisemite at the head of the British Labour Party.”

She then attacked Corbyn for speaking out against Israel's murder of Palestinians in Gaza.

The Campaign Against Antisemitism (CAA) organised the protest. Joseph Glasman of the CAA implicitly compared Corbyn's leadership of Labour to the rise of Adolf Hitler.

He described it as “the emergence of a populist leadership with a vicious antisemitic following”.

He added, “What is in the bistros today will be in the bierkellers tomorrow”—a reference to Nazi rallies in 1930s Germany.



Part of the protest

PICTURE: GUY SMALLMAN

Israeli flags flew beside British flags handed out by protest organisers, as well as placards from Friends of Israel groups.

The protest was openly anti-Labour. CAA chair Gideon Falter led the crowd in chants of, “Labour Party shame on you. You're not anti-racist —you're anti-Jew.”

Longer at [bit.ly/anti-labour-hitler](http://bit.ly/anti-labour-hitler)

**Socialist Worker**  
WHAT WE THINK

## PUT THE TORIES IN A HOSTILE ENVIRONMENT

**T**HERESA MAY is fulfilling her 2013 promise to create a “hostile environment” for migrants.

Tory immigration policy is causing misery as families are ripped apart, people are denied rights to work or face deportation.

Just last week it was revealed that the Home Office is encouraging asylum seekers to leave Britain even before officials have considered their cases.

Years of legal aid cuts make it more difficult to appeal the government's decisions.

Racism is not an additional element to these policies but at the heart of them.

Recently the government has started threatening people who had lived in Britain for decades with deportations.

Paulette Wilson, who moved to London from Jamaica 51 years ago, was sent to Yarl's Wood immigration removal centre last October.

This is partly because immigration laws passed in 2012 and 2014 require employers to carry on tests on employees.

People who have been in Britain for decades find it hard to provide

the level of documentation necessary.

It is racist to say, as May did in 2013, that it “can't be fair” that asylum seekers “continue to exist as everybody else does”.

She said it was wrong they had “bank accounts, driving licences and access to rented accommodation”.

A slew of Tory lies make it harder for migrants to live ordinary lives. An immigration law from 2016 has recently come into effect, stopping some children from going to school.

The fresh attacks come at a time when the Tories are thrashing out their post-Brexit immigration policy. Top level Tories have spoken

**“**  
**Racism is not an additional element to these policies, but at the heart of them**

## SNP'S KIWI CAPITALISM

**T**HE SCOTTISH National Party (SNP) is poised for a sharp turn to the right.

The Sunday Herald newspaper reported that party's growth commission is set to champion New Zealand as the model after independence.

The SNP used to punt Ireland's “Celtic tiger” as its model.

When that became embarrassing after the credit crunch, attention switched to Norway.

When oil prices slumped,

that too became difficult. Now, in an effort to look “credible”, the country of choice is New Zealand—one of the most free market economies in the world.

The commission has been sitting for 18 months to deliver policies that could help win a future independence referendum.

Failed free market models won't deliver the fundamental change Scotland needs—and they won't motivate most people to vote for independence.

Perhaps the SNP will ditch

the commission's suggestion, but that won't hide the retreat from radicalism.

When delegates gather at the Scottish TUC union federation conference next week, they should push for an alternative set of policies.

Taxing the rich, nationalising oil and gas, abolishing all the anti-union laws and sweeping away the racist immigration laws are starting points.

And then delegates need to build resistance to win them.



Journalist Yasser Murtaja was among those killed

International Socialism ★158

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ANALYSIS  
NICK CLARK

## Our rulers' sickening hypocrisy over Syria

**THE BLUSTER and grandstanding of Western leaders over horrific deaths in Syria gets ever more hypocritical, ghoulis— and dangerous.**

A chemical attack last week—likely carried out by Syrian regime forces—on the rebel-held town of Douma killed dozens of people.

As Socialist Worker went to press US president Donald Trump was threatening direct—possibly major—military confrontation with Russia and Iran in Syria.

French president Emmanuel Macron promised a “strong response” if it turned out the Syrian regime had used chemical weapons against civilians last week. Theresa May also talked vaguely of taking “action”.

None of them had much to say about what that action might look like. The US launched a missile strike on a Syrian airbase last year following a similar chemical attack.

This time Russia—the Syrian regime’s main backer—has threatened “grave repercussions” against any military action.

Syrian dictator Bashar al-Assad is perfectly capable of launching horrific attacks against people in Syria. It’s typical of the brutality with which he crushed the rebellion that began as a popular uprising in 2011.

Early on Assad’s forces assaulted the towns and cities that had seen major demonstrations and mobilisations. The idea was to wipe out the centres of the revolution.

Tens of thousands of Syrians have been killed by the counter-revolution, many under the regime’s barrel bombs.

The most dreadful recent example is eastern Ghouta, one of the final rebel enclaves, where the chemical attack is said to have taken place.

Yet the West is also capable of lying and fabricating reasons to go to war. The lies told to justify the invasion of Iraq in 2003 are evidence enough of that.

Who seriously believes that Trump, May or Macron care about the deaths of ordinary people in the Middle East?

Decades of Western-backed wars—particularly the 2003 Iraq invasion—are responsible for bringing chaos to the region. The US, Britain and France have stood on the side of counter-revolution and tyrants in Egypt, Bahrain and Yemen.

### Congratulated

Last week Theresa May congratulated Egyptian dictator Abdel Fattah el-Sisi—who came to power on the back of a military coup and the murder of protesters—for winning a blatantly fixed election.

The Tory government has refused to stop the sale of arms to Saudi Arabia, which is waging its own bloody war against civilians in Yemen.

Labour MP John Woodcock has demanded action “to protect these defenceless civilians” in Syria. He and other right wing Labour MPs blocked a Labour motion to stop arms sales to Saudi Arabia over Yemen.

There’s a lot of grandstanding. Tough words from the Tories and the Labour right help to attack Corbyn and distract from the government’s own problems. Whether any of them are actually keen to go to war with Russia and Iran seems less likely.

Even Trump suggested last week that he wanted to pull US forces out of Syria “very soon”.

But the dangerous logic of the very real competition to carve up Syria could soon overtake the tough words.

As Assad’s assault tore Syria apart, rival powers piled in. They turned the civil war into a free for all for control and influence in the Middle East. Russia saved Assad in order to tie the future regime closer to itself.

Iranian forces fighting on the side of Assad have also helped to extend Iran’s influence across the region.

The West backed various Syrian rebel groups—as well as the Kurds in northern Syria—for the same reason. Now, as the rebels face defeat, Syria is all but split between two rival blocs rubbing up against each other.

It’s a dangerous situation that could spill over into an even bigger war. Western ally Israel, fresh from murdering Palestinians, has consistently bombarded Syrian and Iranian bases. An attack on Monday killed seven Iranians.

Calls on Britain to “do something” about Syria can only mean a step closer towards a devastating war that would bring even more chaos, death and misery to ordinary people across the Middle East.



THERE IS a mood to fight over pay—activists can push union leaders to take action

PICTURE: GUY SMALLMAN

# Health workers protest to reject rotten NHS pay deal

by TOMÁŠ TENĚLY-EVANS

**HEALTH WORKERS were set to protest outside the Department of Health in central London this Friday.**

They want their union leaders to fight for pay rises—not sign up to the Tories’ proposed shoddy deal. The protest comes on the eve of the Unison union’s health sector conference in Brighton next week.

The majority of health unions and staff organisations, including the largest, Unison and the Royal College of Nursing (RCN), are recommending the offer. Only the GMB is against the “jam tomorrow” deal.

Sorele, a Unison union member and newly qualified nurse, spoke to Socialist Worker in a personal capacity. “I would vote to reject the deal,” she said. “Personally I’m quite cross with the unions.”

“I don’t think unions are fighting our corner, it almost feels like there’s some sort of collusion.”

The proposed deal would give over 1 million health workers in England a 6.5 percent pay rise across three years. They would get 3 percent in 2018-19 and 1.7 percent in each of the following years.

This is better than the 1 percent health workers have had under the Tories’ public sector pay cap. “I’m not going

to lie,” said Sorele. “Any bit of extra money will be welcome, but it’s not adequate.”

“I still don’t feel we’re getting what we deserve.”

With the RPI rate of inflation running at 3.6 percent, it still represents a “real terms”

pay cut. And it does nothing to address the 14 percent cut nurses have suffered since the Tories got into office in 2010.

The Tories, press and union leaders have tried to spin the deal as giving health workers up to 23 percent in pay

rises. This is because the official pay calculator added the 6.5 percent together with incremental pay rises.

Under the Agenda for Change (AfC) NHS pay scales each pay band is divided into increments. Until now health workers have automatically made their way up the increments until they reach the top of their band.

The two figures wouldn’t normally be added together.

### Overhaul

And the Tories are proposing to overhaul increments that could see health workers lose out (see box).

The deal shows the Tories’ contempt for the NHS and health workers—but union leaders could tap into anger to fight it. Sorele said, “Nurses generally are not ones for striking, but this is the first time I’ve started to hear nurses say they would consider it.”

“I’m not saying there would be majority action and I can’t say how I would vote until I was in that situation.”

“But I’ve definitely noticed a shift—the government can’t take it for granted that we’ll just take it anymore.”

Activists have to build for a big reject vote and push their union leaders to fight for real pay rises.



Workers say no—so should union leaders

## A dodgy, divisive deal

**THE DEAL would bring in productivity-linked pay through the back door.**

Health workers currently automatically make their way up pay increments.

But the deal would scrap automatic increment progression. And it mandates hospital bosses “to apply a process linked to appraisals before allowing staff to progress to the next pay point”.

Sorele said, “They’re starting to talk about increments being performance related, but we’re not on a

production line.

“We’ve already got appraisals to make sure we’re working the way we do.”

“It’s to pull the wool over people’s eyes. We don’t deserve it. It is all about the Tory ethos of targets.”

She added, “You need a good cohesive team, but this will cause real divisions.”

It will give bosses a licence to target union activists. And because of institutional racism and sexism in the NHS, it will hit women and black health workers hardest.



**Got a story?**

Email ideas to [reports@socialistworker.co.uk](mailto:reports@socialistworker.co.uk)



# Keep up the fight for university pensions

Bosses only made the current offer because of solid strikes by workers, says **Sadie Robinson**

**UCU UNION members at over 60 universities were fighting to reject an offer in their dispute over pensions as Socialist Worker went to press.**

The offer would see UUK bosses withdraw an immediate threat to shift workers' defined benefit pension scheme to a defined contribution one. But it gives workers no guarantees on their pensions, saying that contributions and benefits could be "adjusted in either direction".

Union leaders are pushing acceptance of the offer. But several UCU branches have held meetings and voted to recommend a no vote. They include Dundee, Edinburgh, Goldsmiths, Salford, Newcastle, Keele, Kent, Leeds, Warwick, King's College London and Sheffield.

Bruce Baker is president of the UCU at Newcastle university. He told Socialist Worker, "There's a lot that people like in the deal, but we also have real concerns. If you give UUK the benefit of the doubt, it looks quite good."

"But none of us are prepared to do that. We have zero trust in UUK and we are strongly recommending a No vote."

## Resubmit

Many workers want the union to back a "revise and resubmit" position. They see the offer as a starting point for negotiations, not the finished deal.

The UCU Left group, which Socialist Worker supports, is fighting for a No vote. UCU Left members on the union's higher education committee have put out a statement opposing the deal.

"It is not even definite that it will give us more than the 12 March offer members resoundingly rejected," it said. "This is not what we stood on picket lines for. It's not what thousands of members joined the union for."

"We are in an excellent position to continue to pressure employers and to get what we want."

The ballot ends on Friday

## BACK STORY

**Workers at over 60 universities struck for 14 days over pensions**

- Strikers threw out a previous deal they didn't like
- There were huge pickets, protests and occupations across Britain
- In many areas picket lines got bigger throughout the dispute
- Bosses want to change workers' pensions from a defined benefit scheme to a defined contribution one

13 April and the union leadership is pushing hard for a Yes vote. But the level of anger and engagement among ordinary members means a No vote is a real possibility.

"In the past, if the union leadership has supported something it's likely to have been accepted," explained Bruce. "But there are a lot of differences between this dispute and previous ones."

"We have lots of new members—our branch is up by around 50 percent."

"They joined because of this dispute and they've struck for 14 days. Many are young and so will be most affected by the pension changes. So the motivation to vote No is stronger."

Socialist Worker opposes the deal and says workers should fight for "no detriment"—a guarantee that the pension in the future will be at least as good as the one now.

The solid strikes workers have taken so far has shown the potential to win this.

Escalating strikes have the power to inflict a defeat on the bosses—and show workers everywhere that it's possible to fight and win.

Go to [uculeft.org.uk](http://uculeft.org.uk) for updates and more information



## On other pages...

What's behind gun and knife crime? >>> **Pages 10&11**



**A DEFIANT picket line at Queen Mary University of London, during the strike**

PICTURE: GUY SMALLMAN

## Action has created a galvanised union that can fight off more attacks

UCU MEMBERS at several universities were set to start a five-day strike on Monday 16 April if the latest offer on pensions is rejected.

Workers at Bangor University were set to begin a three-day strike on the same day.

Bosses repeatedly claimed there could be no compromising on their plan for a defined contribution scheme.

Yet solid strikes forced them to come up with new offers.

And, if the strikes continue and grow, workers can throw out the whole assault. Future strikes could be even bigger as Unison union members prepare to ballot for strikes over the same issue.

Unison is recommending a Yes vote for strikes.

The bosses' offer to settle the dispute commits employers and the union to setting up an "expert panel" to look at how the pension scheme should operate in the future.

The wording, complete with references to "affordability challenges", wrongly accepts the idea that there's a deficit in the scheme.

Many union members are



**Union leader Sally Hunt is backing deal**

angry at how the union leadership has presented the offer and the alternatives to it.

A number of UCU branches have signed a letter to general secretary Sally Hunt, president Joanna de Groot and official Paul Cottrell.

## Incorrect

They say union leaders gave workers "incorrect information" that meant workers couldn't make a "free and fully informed decision".

Hunt told workers they had a choice between accepting the offer or fighting for a "no detriment" position—and painted "no detriment" as unrealistic.

Yet many branches have backed a "revise and resubmit" position

and called for more negotiations to win guarantees on the scheme.

The bosses' offer gives them time to regroup, and come back on the offensive when they are in a stronger position.

Yet the strikes have created a stronger, more dynamic union.

Carlo Morelli is on the union's national executive committee and a UCU member at Dundee university.

He told Socialist Worker, "This dispute has galvanised people like never before."

"We need a settlement that secures pensions for all members. The UUK offer fails to provide that and instead sets us on the pathway for a further dispute."

Carlo said workers need a deal that is "clear and unambiguous—and doesn't cost more or give us less".

The only way to win that is to keep the pressure on bosses through strikes, now or in the future.

The universities set to begin a five-day strike on Monday are Brunel, Cranfield, Leeds, Loughborough, Manchester, Ruskin, Salford, Southampton, St Andrews, and Cardiff. Bangor is set to strike 16, 17 and 19 April.



# Far right antisemites win election in Hungary

by TOMÁŠ TENGELEY-EVANS

**A PARTY that believes in a world Jewish conspiracy won the Hungarian general election on Sunday. The Nazis came second.**

Around 60 percent of Hungarian citizens who voted backed a far right party. Across Europe the right was celebrating.

Disgracefully Tory foreign secretary Boris Johnson and Israeli prime minister Binyamin Netanyahu also sent their congratulations.

The result is a real threat to Jews, Roma, LGBT+ people, women and other working class people.

Prime minister Viktor Orbán's right wing racist Fidesz party won 134 out of 199 parliamentary seats.

The Nazi Jobbik party only made a modest increase to 25 seats, but is now the official opposition.

Support for the alliance between the Labour-type Socialist Party (MSZP) and liberal Dialogue party collapsed.

Orbán ran a vicious antisemitic election campaign based on "defending Hungary" from becoming an "immigrant nation".

"We need to speak openly and directly about the kind of future Brussels, the United Nations and George Soros' workshops have planned for us," he said.

Financier Soros's name is used as a codeword for Jews.

The right has dominated Hungarian politics since the financial crisis of 2007, which smashed a heavily-indebted middle class.

The fascist Jobbik grew by blaming Jews and Roma people.

It drew behind it other sections of the society, such as some of the rural poor and young people, who had gained little from free market policies.

## Paramilitary

Jobbik set up the now—officially—banned paramilitary Hungarian Guard.

Fidesz was elected in 2010 after the MSZP's scandal-ridden rule ended. It brought in legislation defending the "traditional family", targeted the Roma and responded to Jobbik's rise by trying to ape it.

Politics has shifted further to the right in the wake of the refugee crisis in 2015. Thousands of Syrian refugees fleeing the West's wars

## BACK STORY

**The right wing Fidesz government of Viktor Orbán has whipped up racism against Muslims and Jews**

● Fidesz attacks billionaire George Soros as a thinly veiled codeword for Jews

● It links him to mainly Muslim refugees in Hungary, who it also attacks

● The government spent £42.5 million on pumping out racist propaganda in a referendum on quotas in 2016

forced their way through Hungary into Germany. German chancellor Angela Merkel and the EU responded by bringing in a quota for resettling refugees.

The Hungarian government built a fence on the border with Serbia and held a racist referendum on the quotas in 2016. It began to use Islamophobia to pose as a defender of "Christian Europe".

When one form of racism grows, others flourish. Fidesz's attacks on Soros are tied up with its Islamophobic scaremongering about refugees.

"The greatest danger is that millions of migrants threaten to come from the south," he said last week.

"European leaders together with a billionaire speculator do not want to defend our borders but rather to admit migrants."

## Threat

While the fascists didn't make gains, the threat is ever present.

Jobbik leader Gabor Vona said that he would resign. He previously led their paramilitary wing, but has tried to appear more respectable since they failed to break through in the 2014 general election.

At times during the campaign Jobbik seemed more moderate than Fidesz.

But Vona's strategy of trying to appear respectable has failed and Jobbik could now go back to trying to build a street movement.

Hungary is a stark warning of what happens when the right and racism go unchallenged in their attempts to pull people's anger rightwards.

## United States

**STRIKING TEACHERS rally in Oklahoma**

# Teachers' pay rebellion spreads across Oklahoma with second week of strikes

TEACHERS IN the US state of Oklahoma began their second week of walkouts on Monday. They are striking for more pay and better education funding.

The strikes in Oklahoma follow others in West Virginia that won pay rises.

Oklahoma state governor Mary Fallin signed a new budget last Thursday. It included a pay rise of over £4,000, or 15 percent, for teachers.

That's not enough for strikers though.

They are demanding a pay rise of over £7,000 a year, more money for support workers, and over £140 million in extra funding for schools on top of this.

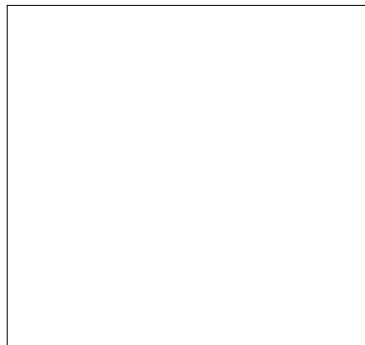
They are receiving massive support and solidarity.

A poll on the newsok.com website showed that 86 percent of 24,000 people support the strike.

Members of one local Teamsters union refused to cross the picket lines at the Capitol building last week to carry out renovation work.

The strikes are spreading across the state.

Schools that weren't out last week are out this week. Workers have protested outside the state



Oklahoma state governor Mary Fallin

Capitol in Oklahoma City every day. Striking teacher Jimmy Acevedo spoke to Socialist Worker from the state Capitol, having travelled there from Guymon in the north west of the state.

"We just keep getting more and more support," he said. "I've been here for a week today."

A group of 100 teachers began a 110-mile march from Tulsa to Oklahoma City on Wednesday of last week as part of the strike.

"It's been an incredible experience," said Jimmy.

"There is camaraderie and positive enthusiasm everywhere.

"I've only spent 12 dollars

for food from Sunday through to Friday. Local teachers have literally fed me and other teachers from Guymon every day."

Fallin attacked teachers, saying, "It's like kind of having a teenage kid that wants a better car."

## Outraged

People are outraged that a governor who takes a private jet on business trips should lecture ordinary people on frugality.

"Teachers are some of the hardest workers that complain the least," said Jimmy.

"That's what has allowed this to go on for so long."

Now they're saying enough is enough. The union leadership has been caught flat footed by the strikes.

Oklahoma Education Association executive director David Duvall said last week, "Our members know their needs, and they're going to tell us when it's enough."

Teachers in the US are rediscovering strikes at exactly the right time to give confidence to the rest of the working class in the era of Donald Trump.

**Alistair Farrow**



## Proud of NUT union decisions

I HAD an excellent day at my first (ironically the last) NUT teachers' union conference recently.

How inspiring it was to see all of the conference delegates standing up for Muslim girls and against bans on the hijab—and also giving their support to LGBT+ teachers and students.

In this toxic environment of post-Brexit nationalism, it is crucial that our union is unequivocal in its support for any group facing attack from the right wing media avalanche.

### Discredited

In a priority motion at the conference we sent a clear message to the discredited Ofsted schools inspectorate.

It said that they had gone way beyond their remit in suggesting that wearing any particular clothing has any impact on a child's learning and attainment.

We are angry that statements from Ofsted's chief inspector Amanda Spielman must be seen in the context of increased attacks on girls wearing the hijab.

Our union also sent a strong message with a motion to unite the fight for LGBT+ liberation with the fight against Islamophobia.

We cannot allow any dark external forces to divide us in our fight to celebrate and protect diversity.

**Robert Dewick**  
Nottinghamshire



ILLUSTRATION: TIM SANDERS

# The day of hate became a day of anti-racist solidarity

THE EVENTS last week to show solidarity with Muslims were very important and can be the basis for future campaigning work.

In the run up to the day of action Oxford Stand Up To Racism issued a statement to help focus support for local Muslim communities.

It condemned the racist "Punish a Muslim day" letters circulated to Muslim homes and called on people to show solidarity with Muslims.

Our statement received support from our local Labour MP and from Labour and Green Party councillors and activists, plus socialists, trade union and campaign groups.

This unity is key to fighting back against racism.

The support for the statement was evident at the solidarity rally where we also invited representatives of Muslim organisations to receive copies of the solidarity statement.

At our street stalls we received support from members of the public.

These included a group of builders on their lunch break, who were appalled at the vicious racism of the letters.

We heard of Muslim women who were too frightened to go out and some who had chosen not to wear their headscarves out of fear of being attacked.

Muslims told us that it made a huge difference to see people

openly opposed to the "Punish a Muslim day" letters.

Our campaigning helped to break the very real sense fear and isolation people felt in response to the hate letters, and we were able to discuss what else people can do to fight the rise in racism.

There was coverage of our actions in the local press and this sent out the message that Muslims facing racism do not stand alone.

Now we will send copies of the statement to Muslim organisations and community groups across Oxfordshire to invite people to get involved in building the mass anti-racist movement we need.

**Ian McKendrick**  
Oxford

## Picture of a racist at 'antisemitism' protest

AN ARTICLE appeared in the Guardian newspaper last week headlined "Antisemitism More Widespread Than Thought Says Momentum".

It carried a photo of the lobby that had taken place of the Parliamentary Labour Party meeting.

The photo clearly shows a protester wearing a T-shirt with an image of Menachem Begin.

Begin, a former Israeli prime minister and founder of the right wing Likud Party, was a racist who

once described Palestinians as two legged animals.

Wearing an image of such an anti-Palestinian racist as Begin on a protest supposedly about antisemitism and racism neatly sums up the hypocrisy of those behind the attacks on Jeremy Corbyn.

They are using racism against Jews and Judaism as justification for pursuing a pro-Zionist agenda of anti-Palestinian racism.

**John Curtis**  
Ipswich

## Pay gap data can't hide Tory misogyny

THE TORIES are congratulating themselves on the results of the gender pay gap survey which shows that at their headquarters women are paid 12.9 percent more than men.

But I don't think they give a damn for most women's lives.

They don't care about the cuts that impact women hardest of all.

They don't tackle the structures that mean women who have children find it very hard to find affordable childcare and suffer a big loss in their



lifetime earnings and prospects of promotion.

The true voice of the Tories was summed up by the chair of Orpington Conservatives who said Theresa May was "stupid" for collecting figures on

the gender pay gap and that the whole operation was "driven by meaningless dogma".

I don't think we learn much from the figures.

They measure pay across an organisation rather than comparable roles within an organisation.

So a few woman at the top of a company makes a firm look good and hides the fact that the female cleaner may be paid less than the male goods handler.

**Sandra Buchanan**  
East London

Just a thought...

## Return of the Ethiopian loot

I AM delighted that the Victoria & Albert museum is considering returning its looted Ethiopian treasures to Africa.

The scandal of how these items were stolen was featured in Socialist Worker (28 March).

They would be on a long-term loan rather than handed back but it's still a step forward.

**Gaynor Williams**  
West London

## Who is guilty at arms fair?

SCORES OF people joined a protest picket last week outside the Cardiff Arms Fair and seven were arrested.

Inside, some of the world's biggest military equipment companies were flogging their weapons to some of the most despotic regimes on the planet.

It's the exhibitors who are guilty, not the protesters.

**Huw Pudner**  
Neath

## Horror toll of council cuts

A 14-YEAR-OLD girl was raped recently in Greenhead Park in Huddersfield.

One can only imagine the trauma that this has caused her.

Yet the local council, due to government cuts, is cutting the budget of the rape and sexual abuse counselling centre which has helped survivors of sexual and domestic violence for 28 years.

This will lead to some counsellors losing their jobs.

**John Appleyard**  
West Yorkshire

## Johnson hides truth on Hitler

DESPITE THE mounting anti-Russian hype, decent people have rightly picked up Boris Johnson for saying that Vladimir Putin is the same as Adolf Hitler.

Johnson pontificated about the Nazis' use of major sporting events.

But it's the government department Johnson heads which helped out Hitler. Facing resistance from England footballers to giving a fascist salute, the foreign office ordered them to do so.

**John Murphy**  
Stockport



# WHAT'S BEHIND GUN AND KNIFE CRIME?

After several recent killings of young people on London’s streets, media and politicians have been quick to blame “gangs” and to call for more power and resources for police. But, as **Sarah Bates** finds, the roots of the violence lie in deep social problems that can’t be solved by a clampdown

**STEVEN NARVAEZ** **Jara was just 20 years old when he became 2018's first violent crime fatality. His family said "they pray to God that Steve's death brings knife crime to an end."**

But a week of deaths in London show there's no sign of these tragic deaths ending.

A recent spate of killings has ignited debates about crime, its relationship to gangs, and the role of the police.

Last week Israel Ogunsola was stabbed to death in Hackney, east London. A friend of his spoke to Socialist Worker about the “scary” situation.

“I don't know why Israel was killed but he was not some big gangster or someone involved in trading drugs. It just feels like you can be a victim.

“I don't want my mum to see a police car coming to the house because I'm the next one.”

Last week Labour MP David Lammy took to the BBC Today programme to plead, “Is life in my constituency worth less than life in other parts of the country?”

His comments followed the fatal drive-by shooting of 17 year old Tanesha Melbourne in Tottenham, north London. Just 30 minutes later 17 year old Amaan Shakoor was shot in the face outside a leisure centre three miles away in Walthamstow.

These were just some of the six

deaths in the first five days of April. In the days that followed, a boy aged 13 was seriously hurt in an attack in Newham, east London, and another in his late teens suffered stab wounds in Ealing, west London.

Two 15 year old boys and a 16 year old were hurt in Mile End in east London and another 15 year old was stabbed in nearby Poplar.

Over 50 murder investigations have been opened in London 2018 as Socialist Worker went to press—and most victims are young and black.

Much of the media blame the emergence of “postcode gangs” launching “turf wars” for the attacks.

But Dean, who works with young offenders in London, says the reality is more complicated.

He explained to Socialist Worker that those involved with violent crime



**The death of so many young people in the capital is causing a political crisis**

represent “young people with a real lack of opportunity.

“They know they would work long hours for low pay and have absolutely no rights,” he said. “And for them it's much easier to get into organised crime.”

Tom Isaac, a youth worker who supports victims of stabbing at a paediatrics unit in London, says wider factors in a young person's life have a big impact.

“Poverty is a big systematic issue,” he said. “If a young person's mum is working nights as well as days, and hasn't got time, they're left on their own.”

Youth worker Rhammel Afflick agrees that “violence is linked to young people not having the basics.

“It's no good convincing somebody that carrying a knife isn't the right way of going about things if that person hasn't got the basics around them—like coming home to a meal,” he said.

Sections of the establishments are keen to portray all victims of violent crime as gang members.

It is true that some who carry weapons do so because they are involved with organised crime.

Gangs lure teenagers in with money, and use them to sell or transport drugs and stolen goods.

A model known as “county lines” sees gangs use young people as drug runners to areas outside London.

Tactics by gang leaders have been compared to child sexual exploitation groomers.

Children as young as ten are forced to carry drugs to suburban towns, and face intimidation, violence and coercion.

London sees more knife crime than anywhere else in Britain.

Across the country knife crime appears to be on the rise after falling for several years. According to police figures, 38 out of 44 police forces recorded a rise in knife crime in the 12 months ending in September 2017.

This correlates with NHS data which say there's been a 7 percent rise in hospital admissions for assault by a sharp object.

The Daily Mirror wrote, “The vile attacks were part of a national surge in violent crime just days after it was revealed the capital's murder rate has become worse than New York's for the first time in modern history.”

But this comparison is only true if you cherry-pick the statistics. London police did open more murder investigations in February of this year than those in New York.

But that may be a statistical anomaly—it is too early to tell if this will develop into a meaningful trend.

Nevertheless, the death of so many young people on the streets of the capital is causing a political crisis—the role of the police has become a central



**Friends of Negus McClean, stabbed and killed in Edmonton, north London, in 2011 gather to pay their respects (top) Tottenham MP David Lammy (above) is demanding the prime minister visit his constituency to meet victims' families. Blood soaked clothes at a crime scene in Mile End, east London, last week (above, left)**



question. Stop and search is heralded by many as the most crucial tool over the fight against weapons (see box). Politicians insist we need more police.

But Israel Ogunsola's friend asks, “Why would more police help?

“For me the police are the people who look at you like they think you're a criminal when you're just a group on the streets, and more if you're black. I don't see how more of them helps us.

“Maybe more CCTV would put some people off, but there's loads of that already.”

Youth worker Dean agrees. Stopping violent crime is more complex than just giving the police more funding, he said.

“The police are more of a hindrance than a help. You saw what happened up to the 2011 riots, all the riots have been preceded by massive



**Six of those killed on the streets of London this year (clockwise, from below): Tyrone Silcott, Jermaine Johnson, Benjamin Pieknyi, Russell Jones, Lyndon Davis and Joseph Williams-Torres**



campaigns of stop and search.

“People complain about cuts to the police but we need to talk about cuts to other services.

“Mental health services have been slashed, and many people excluded from school have undetected learning difficulties. And because school funding is not there, people will kick off in school, then end up gangs.”

Dean says that many factors in a young person's life will influence whether they will become a young offender, with school exclusion being one of the most crucial.

“There's a massive link between school exclusion and gang membership,” he explained.

“And there's also a link between school exclusion, and young women who are vulnerable to child sexual exploitation.”

Franklyn Addo is a youth worker with Redthread, a charity that works with young people to rebuild their lives after being victims of violence. He said with “increasingly scarce services, and impenetrably tight eligibility thresholds, some families have found it impossible to access help for their young people despite ardently seeking it.

He asked people to “consider how other, more deep-rooted factors contribute to violence, such as geography, lack of equality of opportunity and relative socioeconomic inequality.” Dean agrees that the question

of resources in an important one. “My area is a well-resourced borough in terms of youth resources, but it could be a lot better,” he said.

“Overall, young people are being failed throughout education, mental health. They are being failed in a whole range of ways.”

Two days after his death, Israel's friend took part in a gathering at the spot he was killed. He said it was to “show he mattered.”

“Most of the time I don't think we do matter. Young people who don't do well at school haven't got a lot going for them. It's easy to go for easy money rather than a shit job without a future,” he said.

“There should be more money for young people, but the biggest thing would be hope.”

## STOP AND SEARCH

### A failed, racist policy that offers no solutions

SECTION 60 of the Criminal Justice and Public Order Act 1994 allows a police officer to stop and search a person without suspicion.

It has been used repeatedly in recent days and statistics show you are much more likely to be stopped if you are black.

Shadow home secretary Diane Abbott says random stop and search “has never worked, although properly targeted stop and search can play its part.”

Abbott speaks about how the policy “poisoned relationships” between cops and communities.

Abbott calls for treating violent crime “as a public health issue” and promises, “as well as recruiting more police, this is what Labour will do in government.”

Abbott is one of many who points to Scotland as an example to follow.

A 2005 United Nations study said that Scotland was the most violent country in the developed world.

In response to the huge numbers of violent crimes, the Scottish government set up and directly funded the Violence Reduction Unit.

#### Educational

The police work alongside those in the health education and social work sectors. Community leaders and ex-offenders are also engaged in outreach work.

An emphasis on early intervention means sometimes children as young as ten are involved. People convicted of offences are also given access to education and job opportunities.

Results show knife crime has fallen dramatically, with no recorded knife murders in 2017.

Just like the police who carry it out, stop and search is biased.

Police data shows that they stop and search black people eight times more than white people. This happens even though they are less likely to find drugs on black people than white people.

One in four black people searched for drugs were found to be carrying them, compared with one in three white people.

The Tories brought in limited reforms to stop and search, such as forcing the police to record the outcomes of each search.

These reforms were partly because police data showed black men were disproportionately stopped and searched.

These powers are a powerful weapon in an arsenal of tools that intimidate communities.

Writing in the Daily Express last week, ex Scotland Yard cop Peter Bleksley talks about giving “errant youths” of Peckham in south London “a thorough pat down”.

“This didn't always make us popular among the youth of the day but we didn't give a hoot.”



## WHAT WE STAND FOR

These are the core politics of the Socialist Workers Party.

### INDEPENDENT WORKING CLASS ACTION

Under capitalism workers' labour creates all profit. A socialist society can only be constructed when the working class seizes control of the means of production and democratically plans how they are used.

### REVOLUTION NOT REFORM

The present system cannot be patched up or reformed as the established Labour and trade union leaders say.

It has to be overthrown. Capitalism systematically degrades the natural world. Ending environmental crisis means creating a new society.

### THERE IS NO PARLIAMENTARY ROAD

The structures of the present parliament, army, police and judiciary cannot be taken over and used by the working class. They grew up under capitalism and are designed to protect the ruling class against the workers.

The working class needs an entirely different kind of state—a workers' state based upon councils of workers' delegates and a workers' militia.

At most parliamentary activity can be used to make propaganda against the present system.

Only the mass action of the workers themselves can destroy the system.

### INTERNATIONALISM

The struggle for socialism is part of a worldwide struggle. We campaign for solidarity with workers in other countries.

We oppose everything which turns workers from one country against those from other countries.

We oppose racism and imperialism. We oppose all immigration controls.

We support the right of black people and other oppressed groups to organise their own defence. We support all genuine national liberation movements.

The experience of Russia demonstrates that a socialist revolution cannot survive in isolation in one country.

In Russia the result was state capitalism, not socialism. In Eastern Europe and China a similar system was later established by Stalinist parties. We support the struggle of workers in these countries against both private and state capitalism.

We are for real social, economic and political equality of women. We are for an end to all forms of discrimination against lesbian, gay, bisexual and transgender people.

We defend the right of believers to practise their religion without state interference.

### THE REVOLUTIONARY PARTY

To achieve socialism the most militant sections of the working class have to be organised into a revolutionary socialist party.

Such a party can only be built by activity in the mass organisations of the working class.

We have to prove in practice to other workers that reformist leaders and reformist ideas are opposed to their own interests. We have to build a rank and file movement within the unions.

To join us, turn to page 16 or go to [www.swp.org.uk](http://www.swp.org.uk) or phone 020 7840 5602 for more information

## { SOCIALIST WORKER } PUBLIC MEETINGS



### BIRMINGHAM: CITY CENTRE A Rebel's Guide to Martin Luther King book launch

Wed 25 Apr, 7pm,  
The Priory Rooms,  
Quaker Meeting House,  
40 Bull St,  
B4 6AF.

With author Yuri Prasad

### BRIGHTON & HOVE A Rebel's Guide to Martin Luther King book launch

Thu 26 Apr, 7.30pm,  
Friends Meeting House,  
Ship St,  
BN1 1AF

### BRISTOL

### A Rebel's Guide to Martin Luther King book launch

Wed 18 Apr, 7.30pm,  
Café 99,  
99 Queens Road,  
BS8 1LW

### COLCHESTER

### A Rebel's Guide to Martin Luther King book launch

Thu 26 Apr, 7.30pm,  
The Odd One Out,  
28 Mersea Rd,  
CO2 7ET

### GLASGOW

### A Rebel's Guide to Martin Luther King book launch

Sat 21 Apr, 4pm,  
Souls Café,  
87 Glassford St,  
G1 1UH.

With author Yuri Prasad

### LONDON: HACKNEY

### A Rebel's Guide to Martin Luther King book launch

Thu 19 Apr, 7.30pm,  
The Round Chapel,  
2 Powerscroft Rd (corner  
Lower Clapton Rd),  
E5 0PU

### LONDON: HARINGEY

### A Rebel's Guide to Martin Luther King book launch

Wed 18 Apr, 7.30pm,  
St John Vianney Church Hall,  
386 West Green Rd  
(corner Vincent Rd),  
N15 3QH.

With author Yuri Prasad

### LONDON: ISLINGTON

### A Rebel's Guide to Martin Luther King book launch

Wed 2 May, 7pm,  
The Old Fire Station,  
84 Mayton St,  
N7 6QT.

With author Yuri Prasad

### LONDON: NEWHAM

### A Rebel's Guide to Martin Luther King book launch

Wed 18 Apr, 7pm,  
Stratford Advice Arcade,  
107-109 The Grove (next  
to Morrisons car park),  
E15 1HP

### MANCHESTER: CENTRAL

### A Rebel's Guide to Martin Luther King book launch

Thu 19 Apr, 7pm,  
Friends Meeting House,  
6 Mount St,  
M2 5NS

### NEWCASTLE

### A Rebel's Guide to Martin Luther King book launch

Thu 19 Apr, 7pm,  
Mining Institute, Neville Hall,  
Westgate Road,  
NE1 1SE

## SOCIALIST WORKER PUBLIC MEETINGS



Jeremy Corbyn has been a long-standing supporter of Palestinians

# Palestine, antisemitism and defending Corbyn

### BRIGHTON & HOVE

Thu 19 Apr, 7.30pm,  
Friends Meeting House,  
Ship St,  
BN1 1AF

### BURNLEY AND PENDLE

Wed 18 Apr, 7.30pm,  
Red Triangle Cafe,  
160 St James's St,  
BB11 1NR

### CHESTERFIELD

Thu 19 Apr, 7.30pm,  
Chesterfield Library,  
New Beetwell St,  
S40 1QN

### PORTSMOUTH

### A Rebel's Guide to Martin Luther King book launch

Wed 25 Apr, 7.30pm,  
Somersetown  
Community Centre,  
River's St, P05 4EZ

## { SOCIALIST WORKER } BRANCH MEETINGS

Weekly meetings to discuss political issues and our local interventions. All welcome.

### BARNSELEY

### Why Winston Churchill is no hero

Thu 19 Apr, 7pm,  
YMCA, Blucher St,  
S70 1AP

### BIRMINGHAM: CITY CENTRE

### Trotsky and the united front

Wed 18 Apr, 7pm,  
Birmingham LGBT Centre,  
38/40 Holloway Circus,  
B1 1EQ

### BRADFORD

### After the Oxfam scandal—are NGOs enemies or allies?

Thu 19 Apr, 7pm,  
Glyde House,  
Little Horton Lane  
(opposite the ice rink),  
BD5 0BQ

### CARDIFF

### Marxism and Islam

Wed 18 Apr, 7.30pm,  
Cathays Community Centre,  
Cathays Terrace,  
CF24 4HX

### COVENTRY

### After the Oxfam scandal—are NGOs enemies or allies?

Wed 25 Apr, 7.30pm,  
The Golden Cross,  
8 Hay Ln,  
CV1 5RF

### DUDLEY

### The Mandela legacy

Wed 18 Apr, 8pm,  
The What Centre,  
23 Coventry St,  
Stourbridge,  
DY8 1EP

### EDINBURGH

### Is there a new Cold War? Spies, lies and state control

Wed 18 Apr, 7.30pm,  
Friends Meeting House,  
7 Victoria St, EH1 2JL

### EXETER

### A rebel's guide to Martin Luther King

Sat 14 Apr, 2pm,  
Exeter Community Centre,  
17 St. Davids Hill,  
EX4 3RG

### GLASGOW

### What do socialists say about charity?

Thu 26 Apr, 7pm,  
Avant Garde,  
33-44 King St,  
Merchant City, G1 5QT

### HUDDERSFIELD

### Is there a new Cold War? Spies, lies and state control

Wed 18 Apr, 6.30pm,  
Brian Jackson House,  
2 New North Parade,  
HD1 5JP

### LANCASTER AND MORECAMBE

### Racism and the rise of the far right across Europe

Thu 19 Apr, 7pm,  
Friends Meeting House,  
Meeting House Lane,  
LA1 1TX

### LEEDS: CITY CENTRE

### The NHS in crisis

Thu 19 Apr, 7pm,  
The Swarthmore  
Education Centre,  
2-7 Woodhouse Square,  
LS3 1AD

### LONDON: SOUTH

### Yarl's Wood and the reality of immigration controls

Wed 18 Apr, 7pm,  
Vida Walsh Centre,  
2b Saltoun Rd (near Effra Rd,  
facing Windrush Square),  
SW2 1EP

### LONDON: TOWER HAMLETS

### Gun and knife crime—US and London

Wed 18 Apr, 7pm,  
Oxford House,  
Derbyshire St,  
E2 6HG

### LONDON: WALTHAM FOREST

### Imperialism—the highest form of capitalism

Wed 18 Apr, 7.30pm,  
William Morris  
Community Centre,  
6-8 Greenleaf Rd,  
Walthamstow,  
E17 6QQ

### OXFORD

### Should industries be renationalised?

Wed 18 Apr, 7.30pm,  
Restore, Manzil Way (off  
Cowley Rd), OX4 1YH

### PLYMOUTH

### Politics of the mind—Marxism and mental distress

Thu 19 Apr, 7.30pm,  
Quaker House,  
74 Mutley Plain,  
PL4 6LF

### PORTSMOUTH

### Why did the far right gain in the Italian elections?

Wed 18 Apr, 7.30pm,  
Somerstown  
Community Centre,  
River's St, P05 4EZ

### SCARBOROUGH

### 200 years old and still relevant? Marx and Marxism

Wed 18 Apr, 7.30pm,  
Tap and Spile,  
94 Falsgrave Rd,  
YO12 5AZ

### SHEFFIELD: CITY CENTRE

### Catalonia—why we support self-determination

Thu 26 Apr, 7pm,  
Central United  
Reformed Church,  
60 Norfolk St (near  
Crucible Theatre),  
S1 2JB

### SOUTHAMPTON

### A rebel's guide to Martin Luther King

Wed 18 Apr, 7.30pm,  
Central Baptist Church Hall,  
Devonshire Rd,  
SO15 2GY

### SWANSEA

### Is there a new Cold War? Spies, lies and state control

Thu 19 Apr, 7.30pm,  
Brynmill Community Centre,  
St Albans Rd,  
SA20BP

### TELFORD

### Fighting the pay cap—how do we win?

Wed 18 Apr, 7.30pm,  
Carriages,  
The Parade,  
Wellington,  
TF1 1PY

### WOLVERHAMPTON AND WALSALL

### British workers during the Russian Revolution

Wed 25 Apr, 7.30pm,  
Wild Bytes Cafe,  
Darlington St,  
WV1 4HW

## { MOVEMENT EVENTS }

### DORCHESTER

### A rebel's guide to Martin Luther King

Sat 14 Apr, 1.30pm,  
Colliton Club,  
Colliton Park,  
DT1 1XJ.

Organised by the  
Dorset Socialists

### LONDON

### Marx@200

Sat 19 May, 12noon-6pm,  
Birkbeck, University of London,  
Malet St,  
Bloomsbury,  
WC1E 7HX.

Speakers include  
Alex Callinicos, Sue Caldwell,  
Joseph Choonara and  
Sally Campbell

### NATIONAL

### Marxism 2018—a festival of socialist ideas

Thu 5 till Sun 8 July,  
central London.  
Marxism is a four-day  
political festival of debate,  
discussion hosted by the  
Socialist Workers Party.  
[marxismfestival.org.uk](http://marxismfestival.org.uk)

### A new deal for working people

A demonstration called by  
the TUC union federation.  
Sat 12 May, 11am  
Embankment, London.  
Go to [bit.ly/TUC12March](http://bit.ly/TUC12March)

### WEYMOUTH

### School dinners and poverty

Sat 28 Apr, 2pm,  
Weymouth Old Town Hall,  
High W St,  
DT4 8JH.

Public meeting  
organised by WeyPAW

## CONTACT THE SWP

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# A noble and melancholy tale of sea and whaling

The poisoned legacy of capitalism and pollution on the Faroe Islands is told in story-like fashion in new documentary film, writes **Sarah Ensor**

**THE ISLAND and the Whales** follows the lives of Faroese Islanders struggling to accept that their traditional foods may no longer be safe to eat because the seas are so polluted.

Halfway between Norway and Iceland, the islands have almost no agricultural land. People there have survived for more than a thousand years by hunting whales and seabirds.

The famous grind whale hunt happens if pilot whales are spotted and the islanders manage to drive them ashore. The whales' throats are cut in the shallow water and the sheriff takes charge of dividing the meat and blubber amongst those who took part.

Every aspect of their hunting is collective. We see men tramping across the hills carrying thick ropes to the top of sheer cliffs. Relying on the rope and the dozen men holding it, they climb down sheer cliffs to raid gannet colonies for food.

But the Island's medical authorities are testing people for mercury and trying to persuade them to eat whale and birds less often.

A thread of storytelling, legend, dance and music runs through the film and the islanders' festivals.

Through their extended families and friends, the film shows thoughtful people concerned about their environment and the species that give them food security.

## Puffin

Local ornithologist and taxidermist, Jens-Kjeld has been keeping records of the bird populations for decades.

In a horrible example the film shows a puffin colony reduced to a few birds because their food, the sea eels, have disappeared.

The hunting scenes are not for the squeamish but no-one hunts for fun here and nothing is wasted.

When the direct-action environmentalists in the Sea Shepherd group arrive in a hugely expensive ship to disrupt the grind and argue for veganism, they predictably fail and unite the islanders against their "cultural imperialism".

Sea Shepherd don't appear to know or care that the fishing crash caused serious unemployment, or that it is only kept down by people leaving the islands to find work abroad.

Hunting for the Faroese is their history, culture and identity as people surviving by skill and ingenuity.

It is also how they can fill the freezer when there isn't much money about. This beautiful, atmospheric film shows ordinary people struggling with crises they didn't cause.

**The Island and the Whales**, directed by Mike Daly, is in cinemas now

## Exhibition



AN INFLATABLE duck used in protests against the Brazilian president last year

## Graphics overload without context

### HOPE TO NOPE: GRAPHICS AND POLITICS 2008-2018

until 12 August at the Design Museum, London

**HOPE TO NOPE** looks at political graphics in the tumultuous decade since the crisis hit.

It is a wide-ranging and fairly international survey, taking in everything from alt-right memes and Trump's baseball cap to the Isis flag and the Grenfell Tower wall of truth.

But for readers of this paper both the curatorial arguments and the exhibits may all seem a bit too familiar.

There's very little new here,

and neither is there a great deal of insight.

Seeing everything gathered together in one big room merely leads to sensory overload.

To be fair to the museum, I think it is a very hard subject to do justice to.

Most of these objects were intended to be functional and ephemeral. And once abstracted from their immediate context, they lose a lot of their power.

However, the Design Museum's interest in this aspect of our lives is a welcome one.

It is in stark contrast to their other current exhibition, which explores the "glamour" and

"passion" of Ferrari cars.

It'll be intriguing to see if their new enthusiasm for protest stretches to the car workers themselves.

Whether that's the strike in Italy last August against 55 job losses, or in Chelsea last October, where two cleaners struck for the living wage—and were suspended.

Despite their laudable intentions, I would feel hard done by if I'd coughed up the full entrance fee for this one.

You'll probably find just as much graphic agitation to appreciate at your next big demonstration.

**Ben Windsor**

## TELEVISION

### Noir thriller set on brutal border

#### THE CITY & THE CITY

BBC2, Friday, 9pm

**DAVID Morrissey** stars as Inspector Tyador Borlú. He's a world-weary middle-aged police inspector with an unshakeable commitment to smoking. His work partner is a feisty woman cop in her twenties who swears a lot.

They're investigating the murder of a young woman who their colleagues assume was a prostitute, and whose death reminds the inspector of a previous investigation that continues to haunt him.

So far so familiar.

What initially appears as a straightforward setting emerges as something stranger.

At its centre is the



Morrissey as Tyador Borlú

constructed nature of borders. We all know that at least half the borders in the world are simply lines drawn on a map.

As China Miéville previously told *Socialist Worker* about his novel on which the series is based, "There is no intrinsic reason that a border is here rather than a foot to the left or a foot to the right. But at the same time, they are illusions and real things. A border will fuck you up—a border can kill you."

The *City and The City* triangulates eastern European kitsch, hard-boiled crime fiction and fantasy.

It plays with tropes of noir and cop programmes mostly—though not totally—successfully.

The strangeness at the corner of the viewer's vision is effective and important. The atmosphere is ominous. And as Raymond Chandler didn't say, it is so far entertaining to watch a good man walk down these multiple mean streets.



**E**mmanuel Macron managed to beat fascist Front National (FN) leader Marine Le Pen in the French presidential election this time last year.

“It demonstrated that a majority of voters were not prepared to see an openly Islamophobic party with fascist roots take over the highest office of the state,” argues socialist author Jim Wolfreys. But Le Pen’s vote also showed “that over 10 million people were”.

Wolfreys’ new book, *Republic of Islamophobia*, looks at how racism against Muslims has become the defining issue that seeps into every aspect of French politics.

“Identification with Islam marks individuals out as a potential ‘foreign’ threat” held back by “a religion that breeds riots, terrorism and the subjugation of women,” he writes. And the problem is that “this kind of politics has no end point”.

The French state’s racism was brought to worldwide attention by the “burkini ban” in August 2016.

The defining moment was when four policemen, armed with batons, guns and teargas, forced a Muslim woman to strip on a beach in the southern city of Nice.

### Secularism

Authorities claimed that the burkini full-body swim suit was “ostentatiously religious” clothing and threatened “security, secularism and the republic”.

The cops’ actions were met with outrage and protests across the world—and were seen as a watershed moment. It was the logical consequence of the spiral of Islamophobia in French society.

This has particularly targeted a Muslim woman’s right to wear whatever she chooses.

The burkini clampdown followed bans on the hijab headscarf in schools in 2004 and the niqab face veil in all public spaces in 2011.

The spiral that Wolfreys describes has been dressed up as a fight against clerical oppression of women.

“Racist intolerance had found a new means to assert itself,” he writes, “seeking justifications in the language and customs of France’s secular tradition” known as *laïcité*.

After Islamist attacks in 2015 Socialist president François Hollande said schools would observe a new secular day on 9 December.

It was to mark when the law of separation of church and state was passed in 1905.

Wolfreys takes apart the idea the Islamophobic clampdown is justified under the 1905 law.

“It sought neutrality for the state, and state actors, but freedom of expression for individuals and tolerance of their



ARMED POLICE forced a woman to remove her burkini on a beach in Nice in 2016

# FRANCE’S RACIST REPUBLIC

**Tomáš Tengely-Evans looks at a new book examining the rapid growth of Islamophobia in a country trying to whitewash its colonial past and shape its imperialist future**



Emmanuel Macron

views,” he writes.

But the problem is more fundamental than people misinterpreting French secularism.

The French Republican tradition was progressive during 1789 revolution.

Then the battle against clericalism was about breaking the power of the Catholic church which sought to justify the rule of the aristocracy.

Republicanism is now simply a cloak for racism and nationalism—and targets the poorest



**Muslims were treated with suspicion by anticapitalist activists**

and most oppressed sections of French society.

Since debates about secularism came to the fore in the 1990s, it has been “primarily concerned with policing what Muslim women wear”.

“Put bluntly, France’s problem is not *laïcité* but racism” Wolfreys adds “It has simply become the most ‘respectable’ and therefore effective means for it to be expressed today.”

The main driving force behind the rise of Islamophobia has been

the West’s “war on terror” since the 9/11 attacks. Islamophobia was used to justify the West’s imperialist interventions in the Middle East and break opposition to them at home.

This was reinforced in France after the terror attacks on the Charlie Hebdo magazine in January 2015 and the Bataclan theatre in November 2015.

Hollande’s Labour-type Socialist Party government brought in a state of emergency and toyed with the idea of making it a permanent part of the constitution.

Of course targeting Muslims after terror attacks isn’t unique to France. Across the US and Europe, the war on terror has seen Muslims painted as an “enemy within”, a suspect population that must prove its loyalty to the state.

But the rot goes much deeper and is part of the rehabilitation of French colonialism that has been taking place.

“The French ‘war on terror’ predates 9/11,” explains Wolfreys. “Its origins go back to the Republic’s colonial mission, whose tropes and reflexes were revived in the early 1990s as the Algerian civil war spilled into France.”

Islamophobia was mixed in with French colonialism before the 21st century.

During the Algerian War for Independence in the 1950s forced unveiling was presented as part of imperialism bringing women’s liberation.

And the idea of Muslims as a suspect population also builds on racist debates from the 1980s about the “integration” of immigrants from former North African colonies.

Despite being given the right to citizenship in 1945, they are still treated as foreigners.

**T**HIS HAS combined with a broader shift to a view of citizenship and national identity as culturally based.

“The booing of the Marseillaise national anthem at a football match between France and Algeria the month after 9/11, became symbolic,” writes Wolfreys.

It supposedly showed “the threat to national identity posed by young people living in the banlieues (working class neighbourhoods on the urban outskirts)”.

Behind these broader debates lies the failure of the French ruling class to force through the free market reforms it has long desired.

Attempts to drive through attacks have seen traditional parties of right and left hollowed out and disconnected from their bases.

This was summed up by the fact that neither the right wing Les Républicains nor the Socialist Party presidential candidates made it to the second round of last year’s election.

Wolfreys explains that this flows from a gap between “an

economic orthodoxy shared by mainstream parties, but not by their electorates”.

“The rise of respectable racism in the 21st century, accelerating since the 2008 financial crisis, should be seen as a product of this,” he writes.

Politicians have “resorted to negative themes based on the scapegoating” to “compensate for a lack of positive affiliation to their core economic project”. Right wing president Nicolas Sarkozy was at the forefront of this strategy.

He drove the spiral of Islamophobia—and fuelled a rise in support of the fascist FN.

Sarkozy could blame Muslims and migrants for inequality and social deprivation—but racist clampdowns would not solve them as migrants and Muslims were not to blame.

They simply made more racist clampdowns necessary.

### Intensified

The mainstream right could not outflank the fascists on racism. But it did pull the traditional parties, including the Socialists, and the wider debate further to the right. This intensified the Islamophobic spiral.

The left has also fallen into this because it accepts most of the right’s argument about Muslims.

Even the revolutionary left has not fought against Islamophobia because its politics are tied to Republican secularism. And they don’t just fall in behind the right’s racism, they actively push it themselves.

Teachers who were members of far left LRC and LO parties were behind the expulsion of two Muslim students for wearing the niqab at a school in 2008.

The New Anticapitalist Party distanced itself from one of its own candidates who wore the niqab.

The left has not addressed the poisonous legacy of French colonialism in the working class movement.

France saw a powerful social movement—including anti-capitalist activists and the unions—in the 2000s.

But Muslims were treated with suspicion when they tried to get involved with the anti-capitalist activity or feminist marches.

The anti-war movement was far smaller in France than in Britain and was hampered “by putting terrorism on an equal footing with US intervention”.



Former president Nicolas Sarkozy (top) pulled the debate to the right, which helped Marine Le Pen’s Front National (above) to grow



And many on the French left counterposed the 2005 revolt in the banlieues to workers’ resistance to free market reforms.

Nothing is inevitable about this process—and it can be resisted. There are new organisations across France that seek to fight Islamophobia.

While rising Islamophobia is particularly bad there, the factors behind it are not unique to France. It is a stark warning of what happens if we don’t fight Islamophobia and for a united working class.

Wolfreys says that turning the tide in France will need “a political anti-racist response among the radical and wider left”. And that “begins with the most basic question that can be asked of anyone confronted with injustice—which side are you on?”

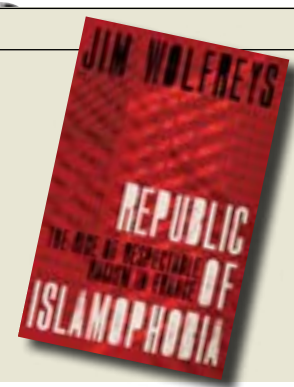
## READ MORE

● **Republic of Islamophobia** by Jim Wolfreys Published by Hurst £15.99

Also available  
● **Say It Loud: Marxism and the Fight Against Racism** by various authors £9.99

● **The meaning of Macron** by Vanina Giudicelli bit.ly/Macronmeaning

Available at Bookmarks, the socialist bookshop Phone 020 7637 1848 or go to [bookmarksbookshop.co.uk](http://bookmarksbookshop.co.uk)



**STRUGGLE IN SOUTH AFRICA**

## Winnie Nomzamo Madikizela-Mandela, 1936-2018

Winnie Mandela represented some of the best of the struggle in South Africa, but also its weaknesses, writes **Charlie Kimber**



WINNIE NOMZAMO Madikizela-Mandela

### More online

● Longer version of this article at [bit.ly/SWWinnieMandela](http://bit.ly/SWWinnieMandela)

● South Africa after a decade of Zuma—interview with Ronnie Kasrils [bit.ly/SWKasrils](http://bit.ly/SWKasrils)

● South Africa needs a new workers’ party [bit.ly/SWnewparty](http://bit.ly/SWnewparty)

● South Africa—full coverage at [bit.ly/SWonSA](http://bit.ly/SWonSA)

This saw leaders on high who could not be questioned supposedly delivering for the masses rather than the masses acting themselves.

Madikizela-Mandela returned to Soweto just as the townships were in turmoil. She formed the “Mandela United Football Club” which acted as a private police force. It handed out vicious punishments, often to completely innocent people.

In 1989 14 year old Stompie Moeketsi was kidnapped, accused (wrongly)



**The ANC saw leaders on high supposedly delivering for the masses**

of being a police informer and murdered by Jerry Richardson, a member of the “Football Club”. Richardson said Madikizela-Mandela had ordered him to carry out the killing.

Two years later she was charged and convicted for the kidnapping. She escaped jail on appeal.

Socialist Worker opposed her actions but also wrote at the time, “The apartheid state, still dripping with the blood of black people, has no right to pass judgement on Winnie Mandela. The only people who can genuinely judge her are those in the mass movement daily risking their lives to free South Africa.”

### Spotlight

Nelson Mandela’s release in 1990 put Madikizela-Mandela firmly in the spotlight. She remained very popular with activists in her own right, winning big votes for the national executive and leading the ANC Women’s League.

And as the ANC’s “moderation” in office and failure to confront the centres of power led to mass anger, she spoke out.

“Mandela let us down,” she said. “He agreed to a bad deal for the blacks. Economically, we are still on the outside. The economy is very much ‘white’. It has a few token blacks, but so many who gave their life in the struggle have died unrewarded.”

Madikizela-Mandela fought apartheid heroically. But, as the last 25 years has shown, the politics she represented cannot deliver true liberation.



# Organise to stop FLA and DFLA demos

by TOMÁŠ TENGELY-EVANS

**THE DEMOCRATIC Football Lads Alliance (DFLA) is trying to whip up racism against Muslims in Rochdale.**

The DFLA wants to push the racist idea that sexual abuse and sexism are the preserve of Muslim men.

It planned a protest in the town in Greater Manchester on Thursday of this week.

Cops and council authorities failed many victims of child sexual exploitation (CSE) in the town.

It follows a similar racist protest of up to 200 in Telford earlier this month.

The racism at the heart of the DFLA is clearer every day.

Its leadership is wedding itself closer to the racist Ukip party, which sees the DFLA as an opportunity to rebuild its support.

## Working

John Lee, an admin on the DFLA's secret Facebook group, described how the groups are working together.

"You will hear Ukip leader Gerard Batten talk



PART OF an FLA march in London last October

PICTURE: GUY SMALLMAN

about this at our Rochdale demonstration on Thursday 12th April," it said.

"Can any lads and lasses from Rochdale/MCR area that would be willing to support Ukip in the town by helping to organise leaflet drops

in targeted areas during the month of April please let us know."

The official True FLA—Democratic FLA Facebook page puts up racist posts targeting Muslims and London's Labour mayor Sadiq Khan.

A post on Sunday night blamed Khan for opening London to "Islamic extremists", "Multiculturalism" and "Third world racists and muggers", among other racist themes.

This is part of a turn by

the DFLA to target Jeremy Corbyn, the Labour Party and the broader left.

The DFLA is a section of the FLA that split from founder John Meighan after a row over who got the money from official merchandise.

Both groups aim to build a racist movement on the streets.

The far right see them as an opportunity to recruit and regroup.

Meighan is trying to shore up his position in the FLA by making open overtures to former English Defence League (EDL) leader Nazi Tommy Robinson.

## Leader

And the far right For Britain party leader Anne Marie Waters, who was judged too racist for Ukip, is working with the FLA.

The whole of the left must take the threat seriously.

The FLA plans to march in Manchester on 19 May and the DFLA also plans to march but hasn't yet set a date.

Stand Up To Racism has called a mobilisation against the FLA's planned march in Manchester.

Anti-racists must mobilise to take on the FLA in the city—and wherever else it marches.

Go to [standuptoracism.org.uk](http://standuptoracism.org.uk) to get involved in anti-racist activities and [bit.ly/FLAmarch](http://bit.ly/FLAmarch) for more details on the FLA

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# Elections can shake Tories but councils must fight cuts

The local elections in England are a chance to punish the Tories for decimating public services. But if Labour wins, it will have to do more than manage the cuts differently, argues Nick Clark

**FOR ALL** the recent attacks on him, Jeremy Corbyn's Labour Party looks set to do well in coming council elections.

Voting will take place in 151 English councils on Thursday 3 May. They're the first since the earthquake general election of June last year when Corbyn's Labour robbed the Tory government of its majority.

Top Tories are fretting that in London they could lose hundreds of council seats to Labour, and maybe even whole boroughs that were once thought of as bastions of the Conservative Party.

One Tory minister told the right wing Spectator magazine last week, "There is only one word to describe the party in London—screwed."

If that's the case, the Tories will be reaping the whirlwind of a funding crisis that they caused.

Since 2010 Tory-led governments have slashed local government funding by almost 50 percent.

For most councils that has meant cuts of hundreds of millions of pounds.

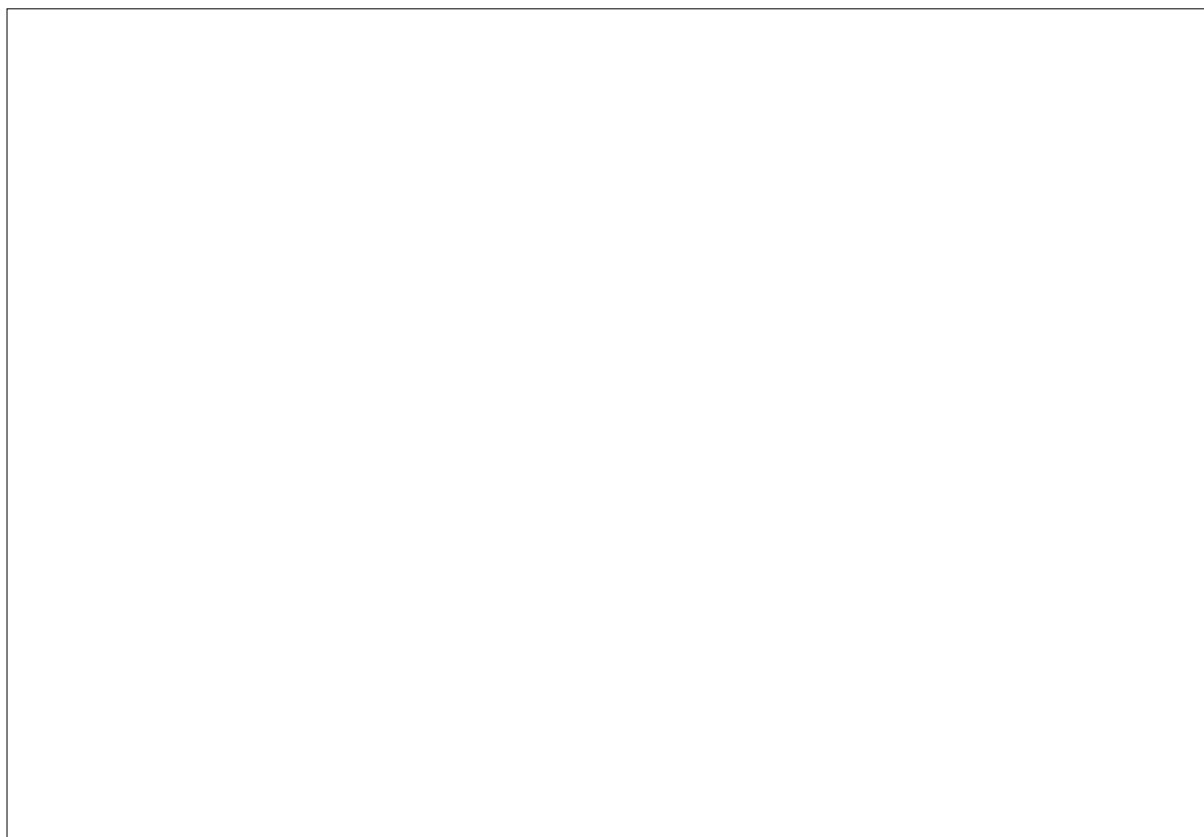
## Pinned

So when Corbyn launched Labour's local election campaign last month, he pinned the blame for the cuts firmly on the Tories.

His speech ended with a hint of the radical flavour of last year's general election campaign.

"It doesn't have to be like this," he said. "After eight years of Conservative cuts, failed privatisations and falling living standards, it's time for real change".

The way Labour councils deal with the funding crisis is a real test for how a Labour government might resist austerity.



THE WAY Labour councils deal with funding are a real test for how Corbyn could resist austerity

Corbyn promised that "Labour in government would do things very differently. And Labour councils across the country are doing things very differently right now."

Corbyn spoke of how Labour councils acted as a "human shield" against cuts.

The reality is that every Labour-run council acting as that "shield" has simply implemented the central government cuts.

At best that's meant trying to soften the blow with gentler or slower cuts.

For the victims of austerity, the fact that cuts were made by a Labour council rather than a Tory one makes little difference.

They don't have to do it.

As Corbyn said in that same speech, "Austerity is a political choice." Labour councils can choose whether or not to set a cuts budget.

They can start by using their

borrowing powers and relying on reserves. But ultimately they have to defy the government.

Labour councils can show what a Labour government that is serious about resisting austerity can do.

Crucially, they have to look to the support of people ready to resist on the streets, and their own workforce ready to strike, if the Tories try to take over.

That would really be doing things differently.

## Birmingham Labour cut, close and privatise services

**LABOUR**-run Birmingham city council has provoked some major disputes with its own workforce as a result of its austerity measures.

An attack on bin workers' pay last year led to a huge campaign of strikes that eventually forced the council to make some big concessions.

Now homecare workers are fighting proposed redundancies and changes to the rota system that would destroy the service.

And a vicious attack on adult day care centres will have devastating

consequences on the lives of the people who use them.

Wendy Collymore describes herself as a Labour supporter but she is furious at the way the council has tried to force through the closure of The Fairway centre.

Both she and her father rely on adult day care.

As chair of the Save the Fairway campaign, she has fought the council's attempt to close the service since it was confirmed in a letter last September.

Once the council's



Campaigning to save the centre

centres are closed, the people who rely on them will be told to look at private alternatives.

"They want to introduce this thing where the council will give you a lump sum," said Wendy.

## Employ

"You then employ someone to come in and help you, or you pay for a privately-run day centre."

Perhaps the most damning response of the council is the way it views the centre's users and their supporters as a nuisance.

Wendy said, "Councillor Paulette Hamilton has been invited on over 14 separate occasions to come and speak to the service users."

"She says, 'If you want to talk to me, you go through the council solicitors'. A Labour council is not prepared to come and speak to us."

"Instead they said, 'Listen you idiots, you've had consultations—shut up'. This is Labour saying to the most vulnerable people in Birmingham, shut up and do as you're told."

## The left is 'quiet as a mouse'

**BRADFORD** council last week voted through cuts and changes to children's services that will mean hundreds of job losses.

An activist close to those who work in Bradford children's services, spoke to Socialist Worker.

"The council has commissioned what it called an 'independent' company to review a consultation into the service," he said.

"But when you



Protesting in Bradford

look on their website you can see they're a management company designed to help managers make cuts."

He added, "The council is becoming increasingly right wing. It doesn't reflect the principles of the Labour leadership."

But he said that Labour left group Momentum "hadn't said anything".

"They've been quieter than a mouse with a throat infection," he said.

"There's a number of Momentum people standing in the election this year and I think that's why they haven't said anything."

"They don't want to rock the boat."



## IN BRIEF

### Bromley indefinite strike continues

BROMLEY LIBRARY workers in south London are on indefinite strike in a fight over decent pay and outsourcing.

They are employed by Greenwich Leisure Ltd (GLL), who run the library service on behalf of Bromley council.

The service was outsourced in November 2017 and workers want to be bought in line with the 2 percent pay offer for local government.

Unite union members voted 100 percent for strikes.

●Messages of support to [kath.smith16@ntlworld.com](mailto:kath.smith16@ntlworld.com)  
Make donations out to Bromley Unite and send to Onay Kasab, Unite, 33-37 Moreland Street, London EC1V 8BB

### Courageous battle is still on at Fujitsu

WORKERS AT Fujitsu in Manchester ended another nine days of strikes last week with a solidarity rally on their picket line.

The Unite union members are fighting redundancies, victimisation of reps and breaches of agreements.

A solidarity social was set for this Friday, 13 April. Details at [ouruniontest.wordpress.com](http://ouruniontest.wordpress.com)

### Thousands join tree protest in Sheffield

AROUND 2,000 people marched in Sheffield last Saturday to stop thousands of trees being felled as part of a £2.2 billion PFI deal.

Former Pulp singer Jarvis Cocker returned to his home city to speak alongside campaign groups. "I salute you," he told the crowd in Barker's Pool.

Protesters are demanding Sheffield Labour council's contract with multinational Amey to axe 17,500 trees—half of the city's street trees—be scrapped.

**Phil Turner**

### Fury at the cuts at the Open University

UCU UNION members at the Open University (OU) have overwhelmingly backed a motion of no confidence in vice chancellor Peter Horrocks.

Workers backed the motion, which calls on Horrocks to resign, at an emergency meeting last week. It came as OU workers face yet another round of planned cuts.

The attacks would slash courses by a third and mean hundreds of job cuts.

Horrocks infuriated workers by telling students that OU workers didn't teach. The UCU said the planned cuts would "destroy" the OU.

Union members also authorised the branch to "open a dispute with the university" if bosses refused to promise there will be no compulsory redundancies.

## ANTI-AUSTERITY



**TRADE UNIONISTS** from across the South East of England region gathered in chancellor Philip Hammond's constituency last Saturday. The protest, organised by the Unison union, called for an end to austerity and a £10 an hour minimum wage. Around 100 Unison and PCS members marched from Egham to the memorial where Magna Carta was signed. PICTURE: JON WOODS

## FAST FOOD WORKERS

# Hunger for a second course at McDonald's

by ALISTAIR FARROW

WORKERS AT six McDonald's stores across Britain are balloting for strikes.

They are demanding £10 an hour and an end to lower rates of pay for young workers.

The ballot result is due on 16 April. That means if it is successful the six stores could strike on 1 May.

They include the original two that were involved in initial strikes seven months ago—Crayford in south London and Cambridge.

There is also one store in Manchester and one in central London being balloted.

Two stores in Watford are being balloted in an effort to shame the CEO of McDonald's, Steve Easterbrook.

Watford is his home town. Easterbrook was paid almost £11 million last year.

A union activist from the Bfawu union told Socialist Worker about how the dispute



**Strikers and their supporters** last time at the McDonald's site in Cambridge PICTURE: RICHARD ROSE

has spread. "This campaign is completely worker-led," they said. "A lot of the stores being balloted now have been organised by workers getting in touch with us."

McDonald's bosses are desperate to play down the significance of the strikes to

prevent them from spreading.

The strikes last time were a boost for everyone enraged at low pay and bad conditions.

Tristan Bentley, a worker at the McDonald's branch in Crayford, said, "We want a better deal. We will not be silent, we will not be scared."

## FIGHTING RACISM

# Campaign to keep racism out of the local elections

**STAND UP To Racism (SUTR)** is launching initiatives around the local elections in England and in solidarity with refugees.

SUTR is asking supporters to organise campaign stalls to put out the anti-racist message over the weekend of 20 and 21 April and is producing a leaflet to "Keep racism out of the election".

Already a leaflet has been distributed by Romford Conservatives claiming that if residents didn't vote Tory, Romford would "increasingly look like an inner city area".

It also said that a "London crime wave" would take place and that Havering would resemble "boroughs like Hackney, Newham, Camden

and Barking rather than a traditional part of Essex".

It contained several warnings about the area being "ruled by Mayor Khan".

A local councillor named on the leaflet claimed it had been approved by the Conservative campaign headquarters.

There will be a trade union solidarity visit to Calais on Saturday 28 April and Sunday 29 April to deliver solidarity and donations to Care4Calais and the refugees in the area.

And Student SUTR is taking a coach to Calais on Saturday 5 May.

●For details of events, and campaigning resources go to [standuptoracism.org.uk](http://standuptoracism.org.uk) and [facebook.com/StandUTR](https://facebook.com/StandUTR)

## ROMA RIGHTS



**Around 600 Roma people and supporters** paraded through Govanhill in Glasgow on International Roma Day last week in celebration of Roma culture. PICTURE: DUNCAN BROWN

## ANTI-FASCISM

**ANTI-FASCISTS** outnumbered the English Defence League (EDL) in Walsall in the West Midlands last Saturday.

The EDL claimed it was holding a "national" demonstration.

But it drew fewer than 100 people to it.

Meanwhile over 100 people took part in a counter-protest organised by the Unite Against Fascism and We Are Walsall groups.

**Eight Labour councillors and a Labour MP** joined the anti-fascist demonstration.

●LOCAL campaigners, residents and Labour councillor Krupesh Hirani dealt with Nazi graffiti that had gone up around the Dollis Hill area in North West London on Sunday.

Residents planned a vigil on Tuesday to stand united against hate.

## RECYCLING WORKERS

# Back to action at Orion

WORKERS AT the Orion recycling plant in Newham, east London, have been on wildcat strike over demands including health and safety concerns.

Videos appear to show people working in huge clouds of dust. Workers report managers refusing to renew breathing apparatuses and gloves.

The ten migrant workers are members of the United Voices of the World union.

After strikes before Easter the firm's owner promised he would provide additional

protective equipment. He also promised negotiations with workers' representatives to discuss pay rises up to the London Living Wage of £10.20 an hour—a 25 percent rise.

But management did not stick to their promises and workers walked out again.

Now workers are officially balloting for a strike. They have received a message of solidarity from Labour shadow chancellor John McDonnell.

●Messages of solidarity to [info@uvwunion.org.uk](mailto:info@uvwunion.org.uk)

## WASTE AND RECYCLING

# Festival of solidarity with strikers in Hull

UP TO 100 strikers and supporters gathered at the FCC Wilmington transfer waste station picket line near Hull last Saturday.

It was organised by the strikers' Unison union as the third week of strikes began. They are demanding sick pay for all workers.

The event was supported by Hull trades council, Hull and East Riding Unite local government branch, East Riding NUT, RMT Humber shipping branch and the Isle of Axholme Labour Party branch.

There were local construction workers and flags



**THE STRIKERS** are confident

from the GMB and the RMT unions.

Emma Hardy MP for West Hull and Hessle also spoke and pledged solidarity.

The strike has been boosted by workers at two more depots

joining the action.

●Donations and messages of support to Adrian Kennett, Unison Hull City Branch, Town Hall Chambers, Alfred Gelder Street, Hull, HU1 2AG

**Eleanor Woyen**



TRANSPORT

# Rail workers strike over outsourcing and safety

by SARAH BATES

**TRANSPORT workers are fighting back against a host of bosses' attacks.**

RMT union members on the Docklands Light Railway (DLR) in London are set to strike for four days from 20 April.

The strikes are planned to coincide with the London Marathon, when tens of thousands of visitors are expected to use the DLR.

RMT general secretary Mick Cash said the dispute is "turning the tide on outsourcing" and "ensuring workplace justice".

The DLR is run by outsourcing giant Keolis Amey Docklands on behalf of Transport for London.

The workers are fighting a wide range of attacks, including outsourcing, attacks on rostering agreements and bosses' failures in health and safety risk assessments and payroll.

The workers have been on strike every month since last December.

Meanwhile, workers on ScotRail have voted to strike against the "bad management" of redundancies that would mean an unsafe transport system.



CONFIDENT DOCKLANDS light Rail workers on the picket lines earlier this month

The workers are specialist CCTV monitoring staff responsible for watching footage from across the whole ScotRail network.

They are fighting a voluntary redundancy programme

that meant the bosses accepted applications from 17 out of 22 CCTV workers.

TSSA union general secretary Manuel Cortes said ScotRail bosses were "purposely undermining the

safety critical aspect of their own CCTV operation".

"They're implementing their misguided and dangerous cuts agenda," he said.

"It has left our remaining members working flat-out on

overstretched rosters as they try to bridge the gap in the resources needed to run the network safely."

The TSSA members voted for strikes by 67 percent on a 75 percent turnout.

Workers on Merseyrail are hoping for a victory after a joint Acas conciliation service statement was released.

The RMT union members are part of a national fight to halt the imposition of driver only operated (DOO) trains on a number of networks.

DOO would undermine passenger safety.

It said, "Merseyrail have acknowledged RMT's position that the only way that this dispute will be resolved is by having a second safety critical person on every train."

"Merseyrail and RMT have agreed to reconvene talks with Acas within the next seven days."

The details of the talks are being kept confidential until then. A victory on Merseyrail will bring confidence to workers fighting DOO at every other rail company.

Coordinated strikes earlier this year showed the power of workers to resist bosses' attacks.

More action can beat back the Tories and transport bosses' attacks.

BUS WORKERS

## Bus drivers stall all-out walkout to discuss offer

FIRST BUS drivers in Aberdeen postponed their indefinite strike last week to vote on an inadequate offer.

The results were due as Socialist Worker went to press.

First Bus bosses are now trying to use divide and rule to undermine the workers' fight.

The workforce is split between two sets of contracts, one for long-time workers and one for those who have only begun in recent years.

The proposed deal would see drivers on new contracts get a pay rise of 20p an hour.

But one driver on the new contract said he would be losing money anyway



Striking last month

because the company was removing weekend shift allowance.

And another driver called for a vote of no confidence in the Unite union negotiator when the dispute was over.

If workers reject the deal, it could mean restarting their indefinite strike.

The all-out strike was called at a mass meetings of Unite union members, where they voted to strike from 6 April.

The last wave of action followed strikes throughout February and March.

Workers are fighting against the imposition of new contracts that would see longer working hours, pay and pension cuts and an increase to split shifts.

These mean a worse work-life balance.

During the strike bosses used about 60 scabs, who they put up in hotels at enormous expense.

But despite the company's efforts very few services were running in an effective way. By their courageous actions, the bus workers have sent a strong message to First Bus that they are no longer going to accept their attacks.

Gerry McCabe

HEALTH SERVICE

## Marches in Margate and York show there is a mood to resist Tory attacks on NHS

AROUND 400 people marched to defend the NHS from privatisation in York on Saturday of last week.

Bosses at York Teaching Hospital are "actively exploring" outsourcing the estates management contract.

The demonstration was organised by the Labour Party and supported by health campaigners and trade unions.

Speakers included Labour MP for York Central Rachael Maskell MP and former Labour health minister Frank Dobson.

Dobson said, "The NHS has served me, it has served my parents, my children and my grandchildren."

"The rich ought to be paying a lot more towards



The march was organised by the Labour Party

it." People chanted "Public health, not private wealth" and "Whose NHS? Our NHS".

Jane Carter

HEALTH campaigners also rallied in Margate town centre in Kent last Saturday.

It is part of their ongoing fight to save stroke services at Queen Elizabeth the Queen Mother Hospital in Margate.

The rally was organised by the Save Our NHS in Kent campaign alongside exhibition about their fight.

PRIVATISATION

## Support grows for porters fighting outsourcing plans

THE LABOUR MP for Wigan Lisa Nandy has pledged her support for hospital workers fighting privatisation.

Trade unions and the Labour Party in Wigan held a meeting to support the workers on Thursday of last week. Nandy said she supports the workers and will stand with them on the picket line if they strike.

Unison union members have overwhelmingly rejected the outsourcing proposals and could strike next month.

Hospital bosses want to transfer 900 jobs in estate management services to WLL Solutions Ltd.

While the firm is wholly owned by Wrightington, Wigan and Leigh NHS Foundation Trust, this opens the door to privatisation.



Lisa Nandy (centre)

There were a number of people from the workforce at meeting. Workers were very angry and one said they want to walk out.

Every trade unionist needs to build solidarity for their dispute.

Malcolm Jones



# STRIKES SPREAD ACROSS FRANCE

The struggle of rail workers in France has inspired workers in other sections of the economy and students on university campuses. **Charlie Kimber** argues the fight can go much further

**MASS STRIKES** and escalating student unrest are creating a crisis for French president Emmanuel Macron's neoliberal assault.

Rail workers held their third and fourth day of national strikes last Sunday and on Monday this week.

Services were hit very hard with only about one high-speed train in five running.

Further strikes were set for Friday and Saturday this week.

The government wants to clear the way for privatisation, implement European Union competition rules, close unprofitable lines, raise fares and abolish the present rail workers' contract.

This gives them some protection against redundancies and allows earlier retirement than most workers.

If Macron beats the rail workers—regarded a bit like the miners were in Britain in the 1980s—then he thinks it will show he can defeat any group of



French transport minister Elisabeth Borne

workers.

Rail strikers aren't on their own. Refuse workers are holding intermittent strikes in many parts of France as they battle for national conditions.

Air France workers and airport baggage handlers are striking over pay. Electricity and gas workers are fighting privatisation.

Meanwhile students are occupying and protesting against plans to make it harder to go to university.

## Shut

Elisabeth, a student in Paris, told Socialist Worker, "We are not going to give in to Macron who wants to shut the university doors to the working class."

"And we also want to show our support for those who are striking. Who wants a railway like in Britain?"

Representatives from 35 universities met last weekend at Paris Nanterre University and agreed a series of student mobilisations which began on Tuesday this week.

"The government is attacking us all and it is only together on strike and in the street that we can impose our demands," the coordination meeting said.

Lectures have already been

disrupted for several days or weeks in a dozen campuses in France including Montpellier, Toulouse, Grenoble, Nantes and Paris.

A series of fascist attacks on occupying students, the most recent at the Tolbiac site of the University Paris 1 Panthéon-Sorbonne, have not stopped the movement.

The stakes are high. On Monday the government sent 2,500 police and armoured vehicles to attack an occupation that has halted a new airport project at Notre-Dame-des-Landes.

The CGT union federation has called for national action by all workers on 18 April. Other federations have not backed it.

Rank and file workers need to organise themselves to pressure the union leaders and act themselves when the leaders draw back.

And there needs to be conscious opposition to the new racist laws that Macron is implementing to divide workers.

As the NPA revolutionary socialist organisation said, "To stop the government, we need big demonstrations that show our collective strength."

"But it also requires a massive strike that blocks the economy."



WORKERS protest in the Gare Saint-Charles train station in Marseille on day two of the strikes (above) and students vote for an occupation of the university buildings in Rouen (left)

## Solidarity across borders is a powerful class weapon

WORKERS IN Britain are organising to stop a scabbing attempt by bosses during the French rail strikes.

It's an excellent show of solidarity with a crucial battle—and the best sort of European unity.

As the French strikes began, Eurostar management tried to move engineering and maintenance workers at the Leyton depot in east London to the Le

Landy depot near Paris.

Eurostar is 55 percent owned by French rail operator SNCF.

The British workforce includes two teams—Contingency and Winter Resilience—that can be deployed when problems emerge such as ice damage to trains.

Workers rostered onto these teams were asked to go to France—with an initial notification making clear they would cover

for strike-hit services.

The union immediately organised to make workers aware that this



RMT & CGT badge collaboration

would be strikebreaking.

The RMT union put out a statement which was distributed round the Leyton depot.

The union has vowed to join French pickets with RMT flags and seek to turn back anyone who does try to scab.

Union members are also producing badges for workers to wear around the depot showing solidarity with the French strikes.

## The fight gets stronger

INSTEAD OF collapsing, as bosses had hoped, the rail strikes are becoming stronger with some non-strikers now joining.

A driver told the Le Parisien website that they joined the strike because they realised that worse contracts for new workers would eventually undermine everyone's pensions.

They added that they were exasperated by

talks of "privileged" rail workers as well.

"I will retire after 42 years of paying contributions. I earn only a basic 1,316 euros (£1,145) gross per month. With the allowances and travel bonuses, I arrive at 2,100 (£1,827) euros net.

"But during the holidays, my salary drops to 800 to 1,000 euros without premiums."